FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-235
Friday
8 December 1989

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-235

CONTENTS

8 December 1989

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Chernyshev Discusses INF Treaty Anniversary *[TASS]* 1
Bomb Storage Plan 'Bewildering' in Arms Cut Era *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 5 Dec]* 1

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Petrovskiy Discusses International Situation *[Paris LE FIGARO 2-3 Dec]* 3
Commentary Views Brussels NATO Meeting *[Moscow International]* 4
Cold War 'Atmosphere' Still Prevails in NATO *[IZVESTIYA 3 Dec]* 4
UN Seminar on Social Policy Opens in Tashkent *[TASS]* 5

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

U.S. Agriculture Secretary on Malta Talks *[TASS]* 6
USSR's Conciliatory Policy to U.S. Noted *[Mayorov on Moscow International]* 6
Supreme Soviet Members Receive U.S. Businessmen *[TASS]* 6
Trial of U.S. Citizen Begins in Leningrad *[TASS]* 7

China

PRC To Hold Talks With USSR, E. Europe *[Moscow International]* 7
Soviet Official on Border Trade with PRC *[Moscow International]* 7
Soviet, PRC Newspapers Resume Exchanges *[Moscow International]* 8
PRC Spokesman Cited on East Europe, Korea *[IZVESTIYA 2 Dec]* 8
PRC Delegation's Visit to Indonesia Previewed *[(Klesnov) on Moscow International]* 8

Northeast Asia

DPRK Delegation Visits Primorskiy Kray *[Moscow International]* 9
DPRK Farmers Lease Land in Primorskiy Kray *[Moscow International]* 10
Protocol for DPRK Construction in Vladivostok *[Moscow International]* 10
Japanese Violate Fishing Regulations *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 28 Nov]* 10

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Effects of Philippine Coup Attempt Analyzed *[Aleksandrov on Moscow International]* 12
Aquino's Problems Persist After Coup Failure *[PRAVDA 7 Dec]* 13
CPSU Delegation Studies CPV Ideological Work *[PRAVDA 7 Dec]* 13
UN Resolution on Cambodia Said 'Serious Mistake' *[Belov on Moscow International]* 14
IZVESTIYA Views Cambodia Situation *[5 Dec]* 14
Khmer Rouge Role in Cambodian Opposition Viewed *[Durov on Moscow International]* 15

Near East & South Asia

Iranian Media Reaction to Malta Talks Noted *[Moscow Radio Peace and Progress]* 16
Majlis Opposes Iranian Economic Policy *[Andreyev on Moscow International]* 16
Analyst Views Iran's Role in Lebanese Solution *[Batyev on Moscow International]* 17
'Awn Blamed in Death of Lebanon's Mu'awwad *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 48]* 17
PRAVDA on Status of Lebanon Peace Quest *[7 Dec]* 18
U.S. Ambassador Meets With Afghan Officials *[TASS]* 18
Afghan Rebels Said Trying to Subvert Republics *[IZVESTIA 7 Dec]* 19

Afghan Party Delegation Visits 27 Nov-4 Dec *[PRAVDA 6 Dec]* 19
Paper Reports Afghan Rebel Losses *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 7 Dec]* 19
Analyst Views UN Debate on Palestinian Issue *[Balebanov on TASS]* 20
More on Parliamentarians' Talks in Syria *[IZVESTIYA 7 Dec]* 20
Army General Tretyak Visits Syria 22
    Departs Moscow 3 Dec *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Dec]* 22
    Meets Talas; Departs 7 Dec *[TASS]* 22
Military Assistance to India Questioned *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 48]* 22

Sub-Saharan Africa

Angola's Dos Santos Receives Soviet Official *[IZVESTIYA 2 Dec]* 22
Visit by RSA's De Klerk to Ivory Coast Viewed *[(Olgenov) on Moscow International]* 22
Commentary on Sudan-SPLA Peace Talks *[Mikhaylov on Moscow International]* 23
Lukyanov Receives New Ugandan Ambassador *[PRAVDA 7 Dec]* 23

East Europe

Soviet Troops in GDR Take 'Emergency Measures' *[Hamburg DPA]* 24
GDR Army Bases Attacked; SED Congress Plans *[IZVESTIYA 8 Dec]* 24
    Army Not Tolerating Further Attacks *[TASS]* 25
USSR Special 'Stake' in GDR Stability Seen *[Kondrashov on TASS]* 25
'Incredible Rapidity' of GDR Changes Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 7 Dec]* 26
7 Dec SED-Opposition Roundtable Reported *[Moscow TV]* 26
SED Platform Cited on Reunification, Warsaw Pact *[TASS]* 27
GDR Press Revelations of High-Level Corruption *[TRUD 3 Dec]* 27
CSSR Sliding Toward 'Disorganization,' 'Chaos' *[TASS]* 28
CSSR Premier Resigns, Deputy Premier Appointed *[TASS]* 29
CPCZ Plans Extraordinary Congress 20-21 Dec *[TASS]* 29
Civic Forum, Democratic Forum in CSSR Viewed *[TASS]* 29
5-6 Dec Political Developments in CSSR Reported *[IZVESTIYA 7 Dec]* 29
CPCZ's Jakes Denies Responsibility for 17 Nov *[PRAVDA 7 Dec]* 30
USSR-CSSR Cooperation Panel Meets in Prague *[IZVESTIYA 2 Dec]* 30
New CSSR News Agency Director Interviewed *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 7 Dec]* 30
Hungary's Karpaty Sees 20-25 Percent Army Cuts *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 7 Dec]* 31
Poland Opposes Change in German 'Status Quo' *[PRAVDA 7 Dec]* 31
Polish Defense Minister Concludes Visit 31
    Visits Katyn Memorial *[TASS]* 31
    Visit Summarized *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 7 Dec]* 32
Walesa Briefs Jaruzelski on His Foreign Tour *[PRAVDA 5 Dec]* 32
Sakharov Compares E. Europe, Soviet Perestroyka *[Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA 4 Dec]* 32
Yugoslav Debate on Political Pluralism Viewed *[PRAVDA 6 Dec]* 33

West Europe

Cocom Restrictions Hamper French Technical Ties *[TASS]* 33
UK Leaders Respond Slowly to E. Europe Changes *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 28 Nov]* 34
FRG Antifascists Rap Kohl Unification Plan *[TASS]* 34
Finnish Minister Leads Delegation to USSR *[PRAVDA 30 Nov]* 35
Turkish President on Economy, USSR Ties *[IZVESTIYA 1 Dec]* 35
General Varennikov Departs for Turkey 3 Dec *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Dec]* 37
    Holds Military Talks *[TASS]* 37
Military Ties With Turkey Examined *[Barishev on Moscow International]* 37
Soviet-Turkish Bilateral Trade Talks Begin *[TASS]* 38
    Trade Protocol Signed *[TASS]* 38

Latin America & Caribbean

Soviet-Guatemalan Talks End in Guatemala City *[TASS]* 38
Delegation Received by Honduran President *[IZVESTIYA 3 Dec]* 38
Soviet Success at Lima Trade Fair Cited *[PRAVDA 30 Nov]* 39

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Congress of People's Deputies

- Deputies Call for Precongress Strike *[Moscow International]* 40
- Yakovlev Chairs Nonaggression Pact Meeting *[Moscow TV]* 40

Supreme Soviet Session

- Deputies Comment on Draft Press Law *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 48]* 40
- Deputies Answer Readers' Questions *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Dec]* 43
- USSR Supreme Soviet Resolutions 47
  - Land Law Fundamentals *[PRAVDA 6 Dec]* 47
  - On Leave Law *[PRAVDA 7 Dec]* 48

Political & Social

- Lithuanian 7 Dec Supreme Soviet Session 48
  - 0800 GMT *[Vilnius Radio]* 48
  - 1100 GMT *[Vilnius Radio]* 49
- Lithuanian Debate on Article 6 Summed Up *[TASS]* 50
  - Ammends Articles Six, Seven *[Vilnius International]* 50
  - Further on Article 6 *[Vilnius International]* 51
  - More on End to Lithuanian Party Monopoly *[Belgrade TANJUG]* 51
- Lithuanian KGB Chief on Stalinist Rehabilitation *[Moscow Radio]* 52
- Latvian Sailors Union Established *[TASS]* 52
- Newspaper on Latvian Social Democrats *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 5 Dec]* 52
- Estonian Party Said Likely To Cede Power *[AFP]* 53
- Estonian Central Committee Holds Plenum *[TASS]* 53
- Estonians Pass Land, Government Laws *[PRAVDA 7 Dec]* 54
- Estonian Election Boycott Call Deplored *[PRAVDA 6 Dec]* 54
- Open Separatism Rife in Estonia *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 7 Dec]* 55
- Tallinn Citizens' Committee Profiled *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 20 Oct]* 58
- Draft Document on Estonian Self-Management 59
  - First Part *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 19 Sep]* 59
  - Second Part *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 22 Sep]* 63
  - Third Part *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 23 Nov]* 65
  - Final Part *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 24 Sep]* 67
- Republic Leaders Assess Election Campaign *[PRAVDA 14 Nov]* 69
- 'Victory' of Baltic Economic Independence Seen *[Bresis on Riga International]* 71
- Belorussian Draft Language Law Analyzed *[IZVESTIYA 6 Dec]* 71
- Sokolov Addresses Belorussian Central Committee *[SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA 19 Oct]* 72
- Ukrainian Gosteleradio Promotes Radio Bridges *[RADYANSKA UKRAYINA 5 Nov]* 80
- Ukrainian People's Deputies Law Published *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 1 Nov]* 80
- Resolution On Ukrainian Party Organization Work *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 20 Oct]* 91
- NKAO Blockade Reportedly Not Fully Lifted *[TASS]* 95
- Azerbaijan Committee for NKAO Established *[TASS]* 95
  - Vezirov Meets Committee Members *[Baku Radio]* 95
- Azerbaijan Denies Towns Taken Over by Armenians *[Baku Radio]* 96
- Soldiers Desert, Expect Armenia-Azeri Civil War *[Copenhagen DET FRI AKTUELT 7 Dec]* 96
- Armenian Decision on U.S. Senate Resolution *[ARMENPRES]* 96
- Margaret Thatcher To Visit Armenia in June *[Yerevan Radio]* 97
- Tajik Communist Party Plenum Opens 6 Dec *[Dushanbe Radio]* 97
  - Makhkamov Rejects Federalism *[Moscow Radio]* 97
- New Anticrime Measures in Turkmenia Discussed *[TASS]* 98
- Former Uzbek Party Official Withdraws Confession *[TASS]* 98
- CPSU Department Holds Meeting in Moscow Rayon *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 7 Dec]* 98
- Yeltsin Interviewed on Interregional Group *[Copenhagen DET FRI AKTUELT 2-3 Dec]* 98
- Leningrad Conference of Informals Assessed *[LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA 26 Oct]* 100
- Biryukova Views Consumer Production Problems *[PRAVDA 7 Dec]* 107
- Religious Leaders Adopt Ethnic Relations Address *[TASS]* 108

Crime-Wine Connection Examined *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 46]* 108
Ligachev Visits West Siberia Oil, Gas Town *[Moscow Radio]* 109
Ligachev, Others Study Agro-industrial Issues *[Moscow Radio]* 109
Minister Bakatin on MVD Problems, Tasks *[Rotterdam NRC HANSELBLAD 1 Nov]* 109
Abalkin at Gorkiy Oblast Aktiv *[PRAVDA 6 Dec]* 111
Vlasov Has 'Relaxed' Talk With Newsmen *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 7 Dec]* 112
Lukyanov at Moscow Conference on Legal Reforms *[PRAVDA 2 Dec]* 112
More Details on Girenko Crimea Visit *[IZVESTIYA 3 Dec]* 113
Portugalov Rules Out Multiparty System *[Hamburg DIE WELT 21 Nov]* 113
Coal Miners' Union Holds Plenum *[TRUD 2 Dec]* 114
Joint Venture Workers Form Trade Union *[TRUD 2 Dec]* 114
Urals Primary Party Organizations Confer *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 6 Dec]* 114
Publication of Three Newspapers Delayed *[GUDOK 1 Dec]* 115
Latest Issue of KOMMUNIST Outlined *[PRAVDA 25 Nov]* 116
Leaders Sign Writer G.M. Gulia Obituary *[PRAVDA 30 Nov]* 116
Leaders Sign N.S. Patolichev Obituary *[PRAVDA 5 Dec]* 116

Economic

Attempt To Restrain Price Increases Welcomed *[PRAVDA 4 Dec]* 116
October Figures Show Continuing Shortfalls *[Rytov in IZVESTIYA 6 Dec]* 117
Jan-Sep Rail Performance Discussed *[GUDOK 18 Oct]* 118

Agricultural

Debt Writeoff Used to Promote Farm Leasing *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 7 Dec]* 122
Moscow Oblast Small Farmers Form Union *[IZVESTIYA 3 Dec]* 123

Scientific

'Kvant' Module Forms Space Laboratory With 'Mir' *[Moscow International]* 123

Chernyshev Discusses INF Treaty Anniversary

LD0712155589 Moscow TASS in English 1545 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Chernyshev:

The treaty between the USSR and the U.S. on the elimination of their intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was signed at the Soviet-American summit on December 8, 1987.

The treaty was the first major step towards practical nuclear disarmament and the creation of a nuclear-free world, demonstrating that the achievement of mutually acceptable agreements between the two powers was possible.

Over the past two years, the treaty's provisions have been implemented with scrupulous precision and in strict accordance with the agreed schedule. The Soviet Union and the United States have given practical proof that common sense is a more potent persuader than the horrible prospect of war. The treaty is helping affirm new forms of coexistence on our planet and the new political thinking, as applied in the sensitive area of national security. But the treaty's principal message is that security can be safeguarded by political means.

One should underscore the fact that the INF treaty actually revolutionised deeply held views about the limits of openness in relations between states.

The road is now wide open to verify agreements being concluded on arms reductions and limitations, including on-site verification through inspection. Unchallengeable and reliable methods of verification, ensuring a 100 per cent certainty that arms are being liquidated, the honouring of commitments and observance of bans for a basis on which any treaty in the military field may be concluded. The INF treaty became a milestone, demonstrating that verification can no longer be regarded as an obstacle to agreements, as is often adduced by a side unwilling to part with its arsenals of weapons.

The basis for the successful completion of the treaty was laid at the Soviet-American summit meeting in Reykjavik, i.e. through personal contacts of the Soviet and American leaders. The treaty vindicates the thesis about the effectiveness of meetings between leaders of states and the political decisions they jointly make. They are the road to follow when talks between experts founder.

This conclusion is especially valid in light of the recent Malta meeting between Gorbachev and Bush. They discussed speeding up preparations for a treaty on a 50-per cent cut in the Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive arms. It appears that this time the meeting and the political decisions taken will again generate a strong impulse for talks in Geneva and permit another, larger step on the road to nuclear disarmament.

Bomb Storage Plan 'Bewildering' in Arms Cut Era

PM0712113389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Dec 89 First Edition p 3

["Press Evidence" feature comprising abbreviated reprint of article by Wolfgang Bartels from FRG journal MEDIATUS: "Who Is Hastening Toward Nuclear War" and commentary by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Colonel M. Ponomarev: "In the Case of the Pentagon, Things Do Not Add Up"; first paragraph is unattributed introduction]

[Excerpts] Under the headline "Faster Toward Nuclear War With Mannesmann," which takes us right back to the days of the U.S.-NATO "massive deterrence" strategy, a recent issue of the FRG journal MEDIATUS carries an article which we have translated, with a small number of insignificant cuts.

"In the strictest secrecy the Mannesmann Anlagenbau AG firm, as a subcontractor, is working on an order from the Californian Bechtel concern. This concern is regarded as a tool of the U.S. Defense Department."

These are the opening words of a report published in the Duesseldorf weekly WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE. However, WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE only hinted at what is being kept strictly secret.

In fact the events connected with the Bechtel order go back to 1986. It was then that the NATO command announced that new, tougher combat-readiness normatives had been introduced for nuclear-armed units. In all places where nuclear missiles and bombs are part of the equipment a certain number of delivery vehicles must be kept in a state of constant readiness for immediate use and constitute the foundation of the alert nuclear forces. But it is very expensive ensuring immediate readiness for use by creating such a force. That is why the Pentagon was frantically seeking a different option for the immediate use of nuclear weapons. They saw the solution of the problem in the creation of a special storage system right next to the delivery vehicle.

U.S. Congress allocated funds for the new project in the budget for the first time in Fiscal 1987. Congress protocols indicated 25 air bases in Western Europe and one in South Korea as nuclear weapon storage places. The intention was to creater a reliable system for storing these weapons at each of them.

The system is based on so-called "vaults"—underground nuclear munition storage facilities. They are containers holding several bombs or missiles. They are placed in elevator mechanisms in silos installed in hangars right next to the aircraft. In normal conditions the container is underground and all one can see on the floor of the hangar is the steel plate covered the storage facility. When needed the container will rise up out of the ground at the press of a button and the nuclear weapons can be fitted to the aircraft in a matter of minutes. All this is being done under the banner of ensuring greater readiness for nuclear war. [passage omitted]

The first four underground storage facilities for nuclear munitions have been tested at the Ramstein U.S. air base. The program for constructing the facilities has been making rapid progress since 1988. Each costs $1 million. The U.S. Congress document points out that the plan is to create on FRG territory 58 facilities at the Ramstein base, 11 at Buechel, 11 at Memmingen, 11 at Noervenich, two at Wueschheim, and 53 at the Hahn base. [passage omitted]

[Ponomarev commentary] What is described in W. Bartels' article seems so out of line with present-day realities that, at first, I even doubted whether everything that it says was really true. How could the Pentagon and the command of U.S. Forces, Europe, in conjunction with the West German Bundeswehr command, make concrete, practical preparations to wage a nuclear war in conditions whereby not only is a reduction in the threat of nuclear war commonly acknowledged, but nuclear war is actually seen as intolerable by both the Soviet Union and the United States? How, in conditions whereby Soviet and U.S. medium- and shorter-range missiles are being eliminated in accordance with the treaty, can the U.S.-NATO military leadership create facilities intended to compensate for the Pershings and ground-based missiles that are being destroyed? Absurd. It makes one want to append to the reprinted article the old, ironic expression "certified bad copy."

Unfortunately, it turns out in fact that it is all "certified true copy," as they say. The editorial office asked Colonel General N. Chervov, chief of a USSR Armed Forces General Staff directorate, about it. Citing official published documents of the U.S. Congress relating to the approval of Pentagon budget requests for Fiscal 1987, he reported that the documents list 26 air bases outside the United States where U.S. alert nuclear forces are stationed. Usually the U.S. Defense Department refuses to confirm or deny the stationing of such forces at any base. But in this case, seeking funds for the construction of hardened aircraft shelters and underground facilities for storing nuclear munitions, it deviated from this rule.

Basically, this is all utterly bewildering, Colonel General N. Chervov said. The creation of underground nuclear munitions storage facilities with elevator devices underneath flight ramps at U.S. and FRG air bases in order to increase their survivability and combat readiness contradicts not only the peoples' wish for the total elimination of the danger of nuclear war, but also the spirit of present-day relations between the USSR and the United States, which are currently examining ways of really reducing armaments, including nuclear armaments.

The facts cited in the journal MEDIATUS, which is published by the institute for the study of problems of peace in the West German city of Sternberg, give rise to doubts about the sincerity of the many high-sounding declarations by certain politicians and military people on the other side of the Atlantic. It is hard to see how one can talk about going beyond the "policy of deterrence" and wanting to end the cold war, while at the same time assiduously preparing for a hot war, let alone a nuclear war. It just does not add up the way it should.

Petrovskiy Discusses International Situation

PM0612155289 Paris LE FIGARO in French 2-3 Dec 89 p 3

[Interview with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy by Charles Lambroschini—date and place not given]

[Text] LE FIGARO: What will Mikhail Gorbachev's priorities be in his talks with George Bush?

Vladimir Petrovskiy: First, this meeting will enable our two presidents to become better acquainted. They met in New York last December, but Ronald Reagan was still President and Mr Bush was only vice president. We want to have closer contacts with the U.S. President. With regard to fundamental problems, it is obvious that even if this meeting has no official agenda, it will be very important. Our priorities are therefore clear. The aim is to have as complete a discussion as possible on all matters of world or regional interest, to ensure the success of the official summit which is due to be held in the United States in late spring or early summer.

LE FIGARO: What do you think are the main subjects?

Vladimir Petrovskiy: We attach great importance to disarmament problems. We are sure that it is possible to reach an agreement on a 50 percent reduction in strategic weapons. The same is true of progress on negotiations to halt nuclear tests. We have a chance of moving toward our goal of a complete ban on chemical weapons, a chance of eliminating all crises and establishing the bases of preventive diplomacy in crisis areas. We can also launch very close economic cooperation. I repeat that our priority is thorough preparation of the scheduled summit in the United States.

LE FIGARO: You have not mentioned the German question. Nonetheless, the prospect of a future reunification of the two Germanies must worry Mr Gorbachev....

Vladimir Petrovskiy: Following the recent events in Germany, it is obvious that the situation is developing very rapidly, and it is extremely important for the rapid changes which we are now witnessing to be included in the framework which determines Europe's stability. This stability presupposes that some European realities are accepted.

First, the existence of two German states; second, the principle of the inviolability of borders; third, the fact that there are two military blocs. The urgent need now is to include all the transformations and changes which the Old Continent is witnessing in the context of the European process which was started back in 1975 by the signing of the Helsinki Final Act and whose aim now is the creation of a "common European home." In this home each of us, not only the European countries, but also the United States and Canada, can have its own apartment. Everybody will have his own interior which he will be able to arrange as he wishes, free from any ideological orientation.

LE FIGARO: But is the real objective of the "common European home," which Mr Gorbachev ardently advocates, not to oust the United States from the continent? The USSR would therefore become the dominant power over the two halves of Europe, East and West....

Vladimir Petrovskiy: What you say corresponds to the old thinking. The new political thinking is entirely open to the real situation on the ground. We accept the fact that the United States and Canada are part of the European process. It is a good thing for Europe that European ideas should penetrate the American continent through the United States and Canada. It is also a good thing for European ideas to penetrate the USSR which is a Euro-Asian country. I think that, for achieving a united Europe, it is an advantage to have the United States and Canada as partners in the European process.

LE FIGARO: The current upheavals are not limited to the GDR. They concern the whole of Eastern Europe. How will this subject be discussed in Malta?

Vladimir Petrovskiy: These events reflect the renewal of the socialist system and this is a path which has been chosen by the East European peoples. These developments must be continued in the context of a "common European home" which must be created. These events should enter into a process which will lead to the integration of Europe. Of course, in the course of these changes, questions will be asked. We will have to find the answers in this process itself.

LE FIGARO: But if Hungary asks to leave the Warsaw Pact in the future, what will Mr Gorbachev's answer be?

Vladimir Petrovskiy: You are referring to a hypothetical situation. The Warsaw Pact is a reality in Europe. It could be turned into an organization which is more political than military one day. The same is true of NATO. But before the two blocs can be dismantled, it is possible to imagine that, for a interim period, these two alliances might serve as stabilizing elements in Europe.

LE FIGARO: In the new context which you mention, what could Mr Bush and Mr Gorbachev say to each other about security problems in Europe? And especially with regard to tactical nuclear weapons?

Vladimir Petrovskiy: Following the NATO meetings in Brussels, we had the impression that the Atlantic Alliance members were not hostile to a discussion on the reduction and elimination of tactical weapons. We think that the priority is to start with the reduction of conventional weapons. But tactical nuclear weapons and other nuclear weapons must also be the subject of negotiations.

LE FIGARO: What is the position on the prestrategic nuclear weapons which France has in Europe? During discussions on NATO's modernization of intermediate-range nuclear weapons, Mr Gorbachev wanted to take the French arsenal into account. Faced with Paris' protests, he abandoned that. But has he not just postponed the matter?

Vladimir Petrovskiy: We are prepared to have negotiations on this subject with all our Western partners, including France.

LE FIGARO: What result do you expect from the conventional arms negotiations?

Vladimir Petrovskiy: It would be very important to achieve radical reductions by 1990, in accordance with the agreement reached in the framework of the Vienna discussions. But this objective is not an end in itself. We would be prepared to go further. However, it is natural to think that a reasonable level of adequacy for conventional weapons will be necessary in Europe. This should be a subject for discussion.

LE FIGARO: Many Westerners refuse to believe in coincidence. At a time when most regional conflicts have been solved or are in the process of settlement, the situation has suddenly deteriorated in Central America—in Nicaragua and El Salvador. It is as if, just before the Malta summit, the USSR wanted to exert pressure on the Americans by encouraging an outburst of violence in their "backyard...."

Vladimir Petrovskiy: This theory of conspiracy belongs to the old way of thinking. According to the new political thinking, we are opposed to any crisis situation—be it on the USSR's borders or on U.S. borders.

LE FIGARO: You said that one of this summit's advantages will be to encourage closer personal relations between the two heads of state. However, the USSR has always followed a traditional diplomacy according to which, to cite General de Gaulle, states do not have friends, but just interests....

Vladimir Petrovskiy: Once again you are referring to the old political thinking. The new political thinking has nothing to do with all that. It naturally takes account of states' interests. But, at the same time, the balance of these interests can only be reflected through the negotiators' personality. That is why the human factor is very important in foreign policy.

Commentary Views Brussels NATO Meeting

LD0512170289 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] A special session of the NATO Council has been held in Brussels. It was attended by heads of state and government of the NATO countries. President Bush informed them about his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev.

The local press has noted that the NATO leaders spoke positively of the outcome of the latest Soviet-American summit. It singles out the phrase of the American President that the talks were extremely friendly and the approach of the Soviet leader to European problems was an example of new thinking.

The Brussels session attached much attention to the issue of arms reduction. It voiced support for the intentions of the Soviet Union and the United States to successfully complete talks on a 50 percent cut in strategic offensive armaments. Participants in the session also favored speedy understandings on the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces and on banning war chemicals.

The discussion of the fundamental changes in Eastern Europe led to the conclusion that an extremely well-considered approach is necessary in order to guarantee stability in Europe. Speakers also stressed the necessity of the strict observation of the nonviolability of the borders that emerged as a result of World War II. The idea to start the transition to the unification of the two German states expressed in Federal Germany did not find support.

The Brussels session spoke for preserving NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization as guarantors of European stability.

A news analyst stressed that while the NATO jubilee session last May focused mostly on strengthening nuclear deterrence, this time NATO leaders concentrated on deepening positive relations between the East and the West. The Malta summit gave an important impetus to the process.

Cold War 'Atmosphere' Still Prevails in NATO

PM0612115189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent B. Moskvichev report: "NATO-Style Warming"]

[Text] Brussels—The latest round of sittings of NATO's leading military organs is being held in Brussels. During the meetings of the "Eurogroup," the Military Committee and the Military Planning Committee, the bloc countries' military ministers and top generals and the NATO armed forces commanders have devoted particular attention to the changes taking place in the East European countries and primarily in the USSR. The concluding communiques issued by the organization's leading organs stress the significance of the reforms taking place in the socialist countries for the old continent's destiny. A statement by the NATO defense ministers welcomes the changes in the East and expresses hope for the successful implementation of the Soviet leadership's planned perestroyka.

Has the atmosphere in the North Atlantic alliance's citadel really warmed? Here is a peculiar paradox: When conversation turns to Europe's future, the Europeans talk unanimously and with pride about the "Common Market's" powerful economic potential and prospects of cooperation with the East. But as soon as military questions are touched on, the tone immediately changes.

At the NATO sittings this is particularly noticeable. In the opinion of NATO General Secretary M. Woerner, in spite of the reductions made in the Warsaw Pact countries' armed forces the pact is supposedly still stronger than NATO in military terms. Continuing this line, U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney, speaking to journalists, once again resorted to the old argument about the Warsaw Pact's two-fold and even three-fold superiority in tanks.

The Military Planning Committee's final communique notes that NATO is concerned about inadequate armament levels in Turkey, Greece, and Portugal and urges assistance to them right away in raising their armed forces to the required standards. It also mentions the need to study the question of creating one more air force division on NATO's northern flank and giving additional financial aid for the deployment of the 401 Squadron [as published] of NATO fighters in Italy.

Of course, it is difficult to expect rapid changes in such a place as NATO headquarters, where the "cold war" atmosphere has prevailed for 40 years. It remains to be hoped that the general warming of the international climate will have a more noticeable effect even within these walls.

UN Seminar on Social Policy Opens in Tashkent

LD0512115289 Moscow TASS in English 0944 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Tashkent December 5 TASS—An international seminar opened in Tashkent, the capital of Soviet Uzbekistan, today.

The seminar will discuss changes in the character and content of social policy in the course of economic development.

The seminar is being attended by political scientists and economists from 20 Asian, African and Latin American countries. It is being held under the U.N. auspices with the assistance of the All-Union Scientific Research Labour and Social Affairs Institute and Uzbekistan's State Labour Committee.

"It is not accidental that Uzbekistan is the venue for this international forum," Director of the U.N. Seminar Mr. Oliver Talwar said at its opening. "Tashkent has recently been having the same demographic problems as a number of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries."

"Tashkent, which has recently been awarded a United Nations diploma and a peace messenger title, is a centre of major international meetings of countries of the east. It maintains economic and political contacts with almost 100 states."

The participants in the seminar will elaborate general trends of solving problems in overpopulated regions—employment, provision of proper amenities, and economic and social policy.

The guests will visit major industrial enterprises of the Republic of Uzbekistan, go to countryside areas, meet with families of many children and familiarise themselves with ancient architectural monuments of the museum city of Samarkand.

United States & Canada

U.S. Agriculture Secretary on Malta Talks

LD0712093989 Moscow TASS in English 0816 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] New York December 7 TASS—United States President George Bush is pleased with the results of his meeting with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and the relations that established between them, U.S. Agriculture Secretary Clayton Yeutter said in a CNN television interview.

He spoke briefly about the Tuesday meeting of members of the administration who were informed by the President about the results of the Mediterranean summit. The President is optimistic about the future of relations between the two countries, Yeutter stressed.

Yeutter is one of the administration officials now busy elaborating a new course in the United States economic relations with East European countries now experiencing profound transformations. He has just returned from a visit to Poland as a member of an American delegation to prepare a report for President Bush on the state of the Polish economy and its most pressing needs.

When asked whether he expected to attend to the question of U.S. assistance to the Soviet Union, Yeutter answered he would not be surprised if the question grew in importance. But he noted that putting the ideas into practice would not be a matter of the very near future.

USSR's Conciliatory Policy to U.S. Noted

OW0612073289 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Mayorov commentary]

[Text] Under even better conditions, Gorbachev and Bush spent 8 hours on the rolling Mediterranean discussing complicated, multilateral issues, such as European disarmament, bilateral relations, and so on. They also found other issues as significant as the aforementioned ones. The U.S. Government has taken the initial role in this connection. Several weeks prior to the Malta summit, the U.S. Government blamed Moscow for the outbreak of bloodshed in El Salvador and the delay in a settlement of the clash in Afghanistan. Our station observer Mayorov comments as follows:

Except those who participated in the summit, no one knows the specific topics being discussed on the passenger liner *Maksim Gorkiy*. According to an unconfirmed source from the U.S. side, Bush criticized Moscow for lacking new thinking by supplying arms to the El Salvador uprising.

We have no intention of discussing what he said in detail. However, we need to point out that the U.S. President faces the danger of being strongly refuted. The reason is: Several days before the two leaders met, an incident occured which will make U.S. accusations of Soviet provocation of regional conflicts collapse by themselves. A U.S. aircraft with weapons for the antigovernment forces of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] crashed on its way to Angola from Zaire. It could have become a pretext leading to a major international uproar. Doubtless our mass media could have given this incident broad coverage. However, they only casually mentioned it.

The chance of fanning anti-U.S. sentiment was allowed to pass. I do not think we made a mistake, it is just that this represents a new trend. It goes without saying that no one should draw the conclusion that we also seek to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations. I do not think Gorbachev mentioned the Angola incident to refute the U.S. President's statement. I welcome his stand if he did not mention the Angola incident. At a Mediterranean press conference, Gorbachev said: Moscow has stopped supplying weapons to areas where clashes are under way. We advocate political settlement of the Central American issue. This has helped the negotiations become more specific and constructive, as people hoped.

Thus, those who attended the negotiations tried their best to avoid propaganda [words indistinct]. In conclusion, Mayorov said: This is an excellent example of how we should discuss world issues in our era. This is our new political thinking. It may not be well-known in the United States, like the word perestroyka, but more and more Americans have begun to understand its meaning.

Supreme Soviet Members Receive U.S. Businessmen

LD0512025989 Moscow TASS in English 1843 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS—To know the values of the partner and establish good personal contacts, was how Christopher Black, leader of a delegation of the American Center for International Leadership, formulated the goal of today's meeting in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Yesterday, he told TASS, the task was successfully handled by the Soviet and American leaders during their meeting in Malta and today we continue the Soviet-American dialogue. We are glad to be here at a time when positive changes are happening in our bilateral relations and we hope to contribute to them.

Today's conversation centered on economic questions, since the U.S. delegation consists mainly of officials of major U.S. firms and corporations, wishing to develop economic relations with Soviet partners. The young U.S. businessmen learnt about the progress of the economic reform in the USSR and the obstacles in its way.

"Recently Soviet parliamentarians have done a lot to ensure legislative back-up for the economic reform: The draft law on property has been published for popular discussion, it has a section on the property of joint ventures, foreign nationals, organisations and states," said Viktor Kisin, deputy chairman of the Council of the Union Commission on Industry, Energy, Engineering and Technology. According to the legislation on leasing, recently approved by the Supreme Soviet, he said, foreign juridical persons and nationals can also be lessees in the USSR.

The young businessmen are in the USSR at the invitation of the Committee of Youth Organisations of the USSR.

Trial of U.S. Citizen Begins in Leningrad

LD0612145689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1255 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Leningrad 6 Dec (TASS)—TASS correspondent Aleksandr Chumakov reports:

The hearing of the case of Martin Mendelson, a 24-year-old Washington-born U.S. citizen, began in the Leningrad city court today. He is accused of attempting to export illegally from the USSR valuables in the form of articles made of precious metals and stones and currency totalling more than R57,000. A 31-year-old Soviet citizen, Muscovite Maya Bogdadlishvili, is with him in the dock. It was established during the investigation, which was carried out by staff of the USSR KGB [State Committee for State Security] Leningrad Directorate, that valuables worth more than R51,000 belong to her family, and it was she who handed them over to Mendelson for illegal export from the USSR.

The statement of indictment on the case was read in court today. It follows from this that on 25 September customs officers at the Leningrad international airport at Pulkovo found currency and articles made of gold, silver, and precious stones worth a large sum which were not registered on the declaration, during a customs inspection of U.S. citizen Martin Mendelson, who was on his way to Finland after arriving in the USSR on 12 September in the capacity of leader of a tourist group organized by the Russian Travel Buro firm. When detained, Mendelson announced that the things did not belong to him but to Maya Bogdadlishvili, who was right there at the airport and who had begged him to export the valuables from the USSR.

Maya Bogdadlishvili admitted she was wholly guilty of the charges brought, and Martin Mendelson admitted partial guilt, justifying this on the grounds that he did not know the real value of the articles it was proposed he should take out. At the same time, he said he understood the illegality of his actions.

China

PRC To Hold Talks With USSR, E. Europe

OW0812050889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] According to an announcement made by the authorities of China's Heilongjiang Province, China will hold trade talks with the USSR and East Europe in Harbin, capital of Heilongjiang Province, in June 1990. This action has been approved by the Chinese State Council.

During the trade talks, issues on barter trade and economic cooperation will be discussed. A trade fair with an exhibition of Chinese export products will be held at the same time.

The Soviet Union, East European countries, the Democratic People's Republic Korea, and Mongolia and various companies and enterprises from these countries have been invited to send their delegations to join the trade talks.

Soviet Official on Border Trade with PRC

OW0612041889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Talk by (Vodvoy), vice chairman in charge of international economic relations in coastal regions of the USSR; from the "Following the Course of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Text] Border trade between our region and China began in 1982. Since then, an increasing number of units have established cooperation ties with us. We have now established ties with Jilin and Liaoning.

Needless to say, Heilongjiang Province has been our long-term partner. In that province 180 companies have expressed willingness to establish trade relations with the Soviet Union. Now trade activities have been active in various oblasts, cities, townships, and towns.

How is the Soviet Union's export to China? The traditional goods the USSR exports to China are primarily construction materials such as cement, glass, and all kinds of metals, including galvanized iron sheets and (?corrugated iron sheets). A fairly large percentage of the exported goods are metal structures and goods for daily use. Chemical fertilizers, including nitrogen, phosphorous, potassium, and other chemical fertilizers are the major mechandise used for barter trade with China.

Since 1983, the volume of border trade with China through the Far East Foreign Trade Company has increased from 6.3 million rubles to 80 million rubles. Moreover, the volume of [word indistinct] trade has reached 35 million rubles.

The first construction company operated with Soviet and Chinese capital has started to operate. Over the past 2 years, a brick plant capable of producing 20 million bricks a year has been built and another brick plant capable of producing 40 million bricks annually has been built in the town of Spassk. These plants have Chinese and Soviet workers and experts.

Cooperation in vegetable production has also been intensified. Vegetable species growing in northern China have been introduced to the coastal region of the USSR, and their output is high. I think that the coastal region's agricultural production will improve as the result of cooperation with Chinese experts.

Soviet, PRC Newspapers Resume Exchanges

OW0712192189 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] The 7 December edition of PRAVDA publishes an article on the normalization of ties between the CPSU and the CPC.

In this connection, a PRAVDA correspondent mentions the recent visit paid to the USSR by a CPC delegation headed by Zhu Liang, head of the International Liaison Department of the CPC Central Committee. Also very important, he says, is the exchange of correspondents between the two parties.

PRAVDA, the organ of the CPSU Central Committee, and RENMIN RIBAO, the organ of the CPC Central Committee, have now started to exchange correspondents after years of interruption. Local party organs, especially those in border areas, have also been exchanging delegations.

The PRAVDA correspondent maintains: What is particularly important is that the relations between the two parties are developing on the basis of the clearly defined principles laid down in the Soviet-Chinese joint communique adopted during Gorbachev's visit to China last May. The joint communique says that contacts and exchanges between the CPSU and the CPC will proceed on the basis of the principles of independence, total equality, and noninterference in internal affairs.

PRC Spokesman Cited on East Europe, Korea

PM0412131589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 7

[Report by own correspondent Yu. Savenkov: "China's Viewpoint"]

[Text] Beijing—"We believe that ultimately the peoples of the East European countries will be able to find a path for building socialism with a consideration for their 'specific features'"—that was the reaction of PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman Jin Guihua at a press briefing to the requests from journalists for an assessment of the development of events in some European socialist countries, particularly Czechoslovakia, and also to the fact that the Chinese press is giving only meager coverage of the situation in these countries.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that China is following the development of events with close attention but believes them to be the internal affair of these countries and stands on a position of noninterference. "We sincerely hope that the East European countries will live under conditions of social stability and that their economies will develop successfully."

To the question whether China believes that the renunciation of the tenet of the leading role of the communist party in society in countries like Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland promotes the consolidation of socialism, the Foreign Ministry spokesman replied as follows: It is the internal affair of these countries and we do not intend to make any commentaries in this connection.

"Do the PRC leaders intend to invite the leaders of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Poland to visit China?"—this question was asked at the briefing among others concerning the situation in the East European countries. I want to repeat once more, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said in his reply, that our government's position is aimed at maintaining and developing relations with all countries, including the ones you name, on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

The PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman was also asked: "Reports are coming in that China is rapidly expanding its trade with South Korea and one South Korean bank is prepared to grant China a loan and also that Shanghai is preparing to open an air route to Pusan. How may the development of relations with South Korea affect relations with the DPRK?"

China does indeed maintain unofficial relations with South Korea, but we do not have official links with it, Jin Guihua replied. In maintaining business ties with South Korea we proceed from considerations to the effect that this contributes to the easing of tension on the Korean Peninsula and to the cause of Korea's peaceful unification. As for our relations with the DPRK, I can describe them as close good-neighborly relations. We always support each other, help each other, and understand each other, the Foreign Ministry spokesman noted.

PRC Delegation's Visit to Indonesia Previewed

OW0412130489 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 3 Dec 89

[(Klesnov) commentary]

[Text] A Chinese Foreign Ministry delegation is to arrive in Indonesia on Monday to discuss technical issues pertinent to the normalization of relations between the two countries. On the visit, our station commentator (Klesnov) writes as follows:

Relations between China and Indonesia have been in a frozen state up until now. The reason for this is known to be the 30 September 1965 incident; that is, Jakarta accused Beijing of being involved in a failed coup attempt and severed relations with China.

This year during Emperor Hirohito's funeral in Tokyo in February, Indonesian President Suharto held talks with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. They reached an agreement in principle for normalizing relations between their two countries.

Foreign Minister Qian Qichen again met with his Indonesian counterpart, Ali Abdullah Alatas, at the United Nations General Assembly 2 months ago. The two foreign ministers agreed to hold a meeting on technical issues related to normalization of relations.

The Indonesian side stated that at the meeting, the Foreign Ministry officials of the two countries will talk about the date for restoring relations and have preliminary discussions on some technical details, including the establishment of a diplomatic corps and dual nationality.

It is predicted that the next stage of China-Indonesia talks will probably be a foreign ministerial meeting, which will nail down the date for normalization.

It should be pointed out that Asia has long awaited this moment. That two large countries like China and Indonesia should have no diplomatic ties seems out of step with our times. The normalization of relations between China and Indonesia will foster sound development in the Asia-Pacific region to a great extent. It was repeatedly stated by a Singaporen leader that once Beijing and Jakarta exchange diplomatic envoys, Singapore will immediately establish diplomatic relations with China. At present, there are people who believe that the normalization of relations between China and Indonesia will have a positive impact toward solving the Cambodian conflict. The old political pattern has been studied by all concerned recently. Indonesian political scholar (Sudalsorno) not long ago stated that as soon as we are not afraid of the so-called [words indistinct] of China, the Communist Party of China, and the Indonesian Communist Party, it is time not to blame China for our not being able to fully understand the situation and the mistake of the 30 September 1965 incident.

Northeast Asia

DPRK Delegation Visits Primorskiy Kray

SK0212053089 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] The DPRK North Hamgyong Provincial delegation, which came to the Primorskiy Kray to participate in the celebrations marking the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, took advantage of this opportunity to make a detailed analysis of the economic, cultural, and social relations between the border regions.

The delegation visited many enterprises in Vladivostok and Nakhodka, a seaport city, and met the guiding functionaries of external economic relations of the Primorskiy Kray at the Primorskiy Kray Executive Committee to discuss border trade, establishment of joint venture enterprises, close cooperation between medical doctors of the two countries, and the exchange of actors and [word indistinct]. (Kim Pong-yul), vice chairman of the North Hamgyong Provincial Administrative and Economic Guidance Committee, upon conclusion of the meeting, held a news conference and expressed his opinion as to cooperation between the North Hamgyong Province and the Primorskiy Kray.

[Begin (Kim Pong-yul) recording] We note that there is a large area in the Primorskiy Kray which offers great potential for reasonable utilization. We also noted your efforts to economically and reasonably utilize this large area of land. I believe that if economic exchange is reasonably made between the Primorskiy Kray and North Hamgyong Province, both sides will benifit greatly. Through the conversations we had with many comrades, we discussed the matter of joint ventures and collaboration in many fields, [words indistinct]. [end recording]

We can observe (?concrete) possibility in Soviet-Korean cooperation these days. For instance, a cooperative production has been organized between the Far East Fisheries Association and the Korean seaweed workers in the Primorskiy Kray. By so doing, the Korean side supplies seaweed for Soviet processing vessels and receives necessary goods and facilities in exchange. The clothing workers and (?tile) workers of the Primorskiy Kray are cooperating with the weaving workers of Pyongyang. The vegetable growers of the People's Korea attained good results working in (?kolkhozes) in Primorskiy Kray.

There are many more instances than these, and (Valeriy Rozovoy), [name as heard] vice chairman of the Primorskiy Kray Executive Committee and a leading functionary in external economic relations, is rather critical of this matter. He said: Regrettably, the coming of the Korean builders to Primorskiy Kray based on the intergovernmental agreement to (?participate in construction work) or other work is resolved without the participation of the North Hamgyong Province. The economic relations between us and the DPRK are very good, but we wish the North Hamgyong Province, our neighbor, would send us more workers.

The Korean peasants who are diligent and know well the conditions of the place and farming technology are reaping good harvests in Primorskiy Kray. The Korean construction workers who are building buildings in (Hapsan) are doing a good job.

The most important success attained by the North Hamgyong Provincial delegation during its stay in Primorskiy Kray was that we agreed to develop cooperative relations in the economic fields, to build a [word indistinct] enterprise, and to expand the cooperation between Primorskiy Kray and the North Hamgyong Province in the fields of culture, public health, science, and sports.

The (Hapsan) area, which is a common national border area among the Soviet Union, the DPRK, and China, in view of its geographical condition, offers potential for economic cooperation among the Primorskiy Kray, North Hamgyong Province, and Jilin Province of the PRC. The above was said by Comrade (Rozovoy).

DPRK Farmers Lease Land in Primorskiy Kray

SK0312122689 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 23 Nov 89

[News report from "The Program to Highlight the Primorskiy Kray"]

[Text] The DPRK tenants who leased land are helping the residents of Primorskiy Kray to get a supply of fresh vegetables. Some 300 tenants are now working on the fields in Mikhaylovskiy District. The kolkhozes [collective farms] in this district provided the tenants with 15,000 hectares of land, farm machines, and dwelling houses, as well as seeds.

The farm produce will be sold at the prices designated by the state, and that part of the farm produce which is produced over the plan can be disposed of at the discretion of the Korean vegetable growers.

This cooperation is beneficial to both sides.

Protocol for DPRK Construction in Vladivostok

SK0312123889 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Station announcer's report from "The Program to Highlight the Primorskiy Kray"]

[Text] A protocol has been signed between the Soviet (Davediyva) enterprise and the Overseas Construction General Bureau of the DPRK Ministry of External Economic Affairs for Korea to build a cultural and sports complex, three 25-story apartments, an international club, a hotel, and a children's club in Vladivostok.

Japanese Violate Fishing Regulations

90UI0156A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 28 Nov 89 p 4

[Article by N. Artapukh in the Kuril Islands: "Sea Gangsters"]

[Text] A cold gray morning. It is windy. Together with the secretary of the Yuzhno-Kurilskiy Party Raykom [rayon committee], V.S. Velkhovetskiy, I climb the gangway to the PSKR—border guard ship. In the distance we can see numerous fishing boats and floating bases. Having dropped anchor, they are waiting out the stormy weather. There are no compulsory stops for naval border units: Work!

Finally we cast off and leave the pier. We happened to get lucky. The PSKR entered the base to fuel up and the commander of the naval unit, having studied our documents, gave his "OK" for us go out to sea, to that invisible line which separates the Soviet Union from Japan. The state border... People are not here by chance. The raykom secretary has his own party concerns about people under his supervision and I was brought here by journalistic work. Because of my profession I had occasion to experience a situation of protecting our homeland's sea borders, one that is unknown to the majority of readers.

I was struck by the efficiency on the ship: There was not a single meter of empty space! As we were leaving the base I was "hanging" on some kind of protrusion on which the equipment had been installed and covered with canvas, and when the main command post for control of the ship was moved to the deck cabin, I took the commander's place. It is a real pleasure for a nonseafarer who has always loved the sea to stand on the bridge of a military ship. The stormy winds and the strong waves test any man for endurance. I, as they say, was "accepted" by the sea because the feel of the upper deck floating under my feet and the rocking do not give me an unpleasant sensation; on the contrary, I like it. All around there is rumbling, whistling, and raging. For this speed on the streets of the city a traffic cop would slap a 10-ruble fine on you without any discussion!

A voice is heard from the ships internal communication system:

"The ship's command and guests are forbidden to go on deck."

I look out from the glass cage that frames the bridge and try to see the deck onto which for some reason we are forbidden to go. And here I receive my first portion of sea spray. It becomes clear that if the crest of the wave has reached this height it would be much worse on deck. The raykom secretary steadily (and, the main thing, promptly) goes below. The watch signal man wearing a life jacket adroitly attaches himself to the taut ropes with a safety belt.

"We have entered the open ocean," says Ye.M. Glotov, the ship's commander, who has just approached. "I advise you to go below."

I ask for permission to remain. Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich's lips stretch into a condescending smile: They say the guest's wish is the host's command. I stand there for 5 or 10 minutes, captivated by the wake raging beyond the stern. A wave unexpectedly beats down from above. It bites me painfully. In a moment the water penetrates past my shirt collar and the cold stings my body. I feel that the exotic part is over! I go below almost feeling my way and grab onto the towel someone has offered me. The officers smile encouragingly but the commander notes as if in passing:

"The weather is relatively normal today. The wind speed is 17-18 meters per second, and the chopiness of the sea is 4 points. Sometimes we get into terrible messes..."

"Watch signal man Torgovtsev reporting"—this can be heard from the loudspeaker, and the voices in the cabin immediately fall silent. "A buoy on the right at 80, distance—1.5 cable..."

The guard ship changes its course and they show me a small, black square floating on a wave. The navigator enters the coordinates of the buoy on the map. The riggings set out by the poachers will soon be brought up on board.

It is just a couple of miles to the Soviet-Japanese border. Our fishing fleet does not come here but there is an extremely large number of nets and traps of various sizes. It is no secret to anyone who is responsible for all this: Japanese fish poachers or, more precisely, real gangsters have been harvesting the fruits of the sea for many years and have reached certain heights in their trade.

"We have no justification for accusing our eastern neighbors of sending spies onto our territory," say the border sailors. "The USSR state border is being violated by people who want to live at our expense and fill their holds with crabs, shrimps, and valuable kinds of fish. Novices do not take up this kind of work and the real name for the violators is gangsters or bandits. Incidentally, the Japanese maritime safety administration is helping us to fight against them. The Soviet side has repeatedly reported cases against poachers, incarceration of the guilty parties, and large fines...

The unhealthy agitation of a number of political figures concerning return of the "northern territories" to their "legitimate" owner—the Land of the Rising Sun—is being supported by enterprising merchants from the bandit industry in foreign territorial waters, emphasizing all the while that they are taking products of the sea and catching fish "in their own home."

"The sea is not very deep in the region of the islands," the border guards informed me. "The water here is warm and the food base for the sea inhabitants is rich. In a word, nature herself has shown concern for the comfortable existence of everything living. This is why gangsters are drawn here as if by a magnet to this natural preserve. They rush to our territorial waters in schooners and cutters in the hope of making a killing and then leaving without being caught."

About 2 years ago the border guards began to notice strange behavior on the part of the violators: The schooners would come into our waters but when they were stopped they would say that they did not have compromising fishing equipment or products of the sea. They would say that they had strayed off course. In order to live in peace and harmony with our neighbors we let these sorry excuses for seamen go home: Who knows what may happen in the water?

But still constant observations of our uninvited guests have confirmed that the ships are placing fishing gear in the sea. And since they dropped the nets they must be there! But here is the problem: No matter how much the sailors investigated the water areas, they could find nothing. The officers M. Mullakhmetov, Ye. Glotov, and R. Gorelov worked on developing tactics for counteracting the poachers and soon came to the conclusion that the fishing gear was submerged. Of course there were other versions but, as the facts showed, this one turned out to be the closest to the truth. The border guards wondered: What makes the nets come to the surface. Naturally, it was a radio signal. The specialists Warrant Officers Nikolay Shokarev and Anatoliy Grishin have now started to solve the puzzle.

An experimental model of the designed instrument was delivered on the patrol boat to the traditional regions of the violations—one command, a second, a third were transmitted... And suddenly a buoy with nets emerged out of the water! Naturally they were brought up and placed where they should have been. The gangsters were flabbergasted and for the past 2 years they have been unable to think of anything new.

Then they took another path. In the museum of the naval section of the border troops I was shown the simplest devices for designating where the nets had been placed: a piece of board which would seem to be floating randomly in the sea, without any radio equipment, of course; simple bottles; precise replicas of floating sea gulls. I saw for myself how the birds hurriedly soared upward after the ship while the replica remained immobile.

"The inventiveness of the gangsters knows no bounds," I was told. "They even make buoys out of ordinary sticks jutting out of the water. During the day it is practically impossible to see them, but at night they give out light signals. We remove the nets right away.

In order to survive in this harsh competitive battle it is necessary to resort to all kinds of tricks. Recently there was another case where it was difficult to find a buoy. Modern computers are installed on each schooner and cutter for poaching and now they are placing the buoys according to special codes. Transfer schooners are descending into our waters without a single crew member. In case such a "Flying Dutchman" filled with fish and seafood is arrested there is no risk except for confiscation and the person in charge is beyond suspicion because he strayed into territorial waters "by accident" and has no fishing equipment on board.

Without proof of an intended violation of a state border (raising and hauling in nets at the time of arrest and so forth) it is impossible to speak about confiscation or imposition of fines. And poachers are becoming more and more obvious. What can we do? Once we took the risk. We "attached" a lifeboat with a seizure group to a net that had been discovered and left it there for the night. In the pitch dark officer Morgachev and petty officers Burlakov and Melnikov felt that someone was hauling in the net. They prepared to make the arrest.

And right then the lifeboat struck against a Japanese schooner; the thieves collected themselves and submissively raised their hands.

Such submissiveness is extremely rare. Having swift sailing vessels with the most advanced nautical qualities, especially maneuverability, the gangsters arrange real circus performances that are mortally dangerous. One minute they were just 10 meters from the nose of the ship and a couple of seconds later they were behind the stern. They frequently make fun of the border guards just to show their invulnerability.

I listened to the fleet officers and thought that with their keen sense of honor and worth it would not be easy for them to be humiliated. But if only that were all! The crew of the arrested schooner throws scythes and other cutting and piercing implements. Any awkward movement could cost our boys their lives.

What must be done in order to normalize the situation in the region of the Kuril Islands?

"I have some concrete suggestions," says Officer Yu.V. Chistyakov. "For violations of the fishing rules within the 200-mile economic zone (and there are also many abuses there) we should reduce their fishing quotas. This will sober up the most hot-headed of them. As concerns the territorial waters where the gangsters are always hanging around, it would be worthwhile for the Ministry of the Fish Industry to jointly catch fish and other seafood in the region of the Kuril Islands. The cooperating party would pay us currency and would try not to allow theft in the territory allotted to it.

Yuriy Viktorovich discusses other measures for influencing the violators. Abroad, for example, they have changed over to a system of fines using satellite communication. If sailing equipment enters the waters of the other state the satellite conveys the information with an indication of the location of the ship and the precise time, which is legal proof of a violation of the border. Soviet border guards are still only dreaming about this.

In the meantime pirate tactics and the strategy of theft are being improved. Recently the sea border has been crossed by 12-15 ships, two of which were "supervising" on the flanks. When Soviet guard ships would approach the schooners, conducting an evasive maneuver, would lead the border guards away while at the same time most of the ships were hastily gathering up the fishing gear and returning to their own waters. Incidentally, it only takes the gangsters 15 minutes to place and haul in many kilometers of nets!

The maritime unit has to its credit dozens of arrested and confiscated ships and hundreds of people fined for violating the rules of fishing in the 200-mile economic zone. Incidentally, the sum of fines paid by the Japanese alone has exceeded 4.5 million hard currency rubles. But the statistics confirm that the number of ships detained has dropped recently. Why is this happening and what must be done to normalize the situation on the border? About this next time...

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Effects of Philippine Coup Attempt Analyzed

HK0812062189 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Commentary by Anatoliy Aleksandrov]

[Text] President Corazon Aquino formally declared a state of emergency throughout the Philippines last week in order to quell the rebellion mounted by rebel soldiers. This decision was made after a week's stand-off with rebel soldiers who refused to admit that their coup d'etat had been thwarted. After the failure of negotiations aimed at making the soldiers surrender, a state of emergency was declared and the rebellion was quashed.

This is the sixth and bloodiest coup attempt yet mounted to grab political power from President Aquino. According to some military officials, this was done to install a strong leadership, but it resulted in the loss of many lives and a large number of injured persons.

The rebel soldiers belong to the Reform the Armed Forces Movement, which has been calling for the military to have a say in the country's political life. This was the case during the time of the former leader, now deceased President Marcos, when the military played a big role in government.

Some of the mutineers during this latest coup attempt belonged to the Scout Rangers, an elite military force who call themselves the Filipino People's Soldiers. However it is not known if these rebel soldiers have the support of the people.

This is the question uppermost in people's minds last week: why did they launch a campaign which involved the shedding of blood? Even though the rebels did not expect aid from other countries, some of the military officials are known to have connections with their counterparts in the two U.S. military bases—Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base. It is true that Washington condemned the coup attempt and sent military assistance to the Aquino government. This angered the rebels, and one of their leaders, former Colonel Gregorio Honasan, called the Americans imperialists, even though they have extended protection to him.

In this connection, the Aquino government has been criticized by all sides for having asked for help from the United States. According to progressive groups in Manila, Washington is only interested in extending assistance so as to influence the results of the coming talks in Manila dealing with its military bases. At the moment, the negotiations, which were scheduled for this month, have been postponed because of the recent coup attempt.

Furthermore, many people believe that Washington will be able to obtain concessions because of the aid it gave to the Aquino government.

The coup d'etat did not just destabilize the country's internal situation, it has also clouded an issue that should be discussed in a calm way. Whatever attempts are made at destabilization by whatever groups, the Philippines will only be continue to be set back.

Aquino's Problems Persist After Coup Failure

PM0712150389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Dec 89 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[PRAVDA and TASS correspondents D. Kosyrev, A. Bokhonko dispatch under the rubric "Abroad": "Sixth Day of the Uprising"]

[Text] Manila, 6 Dec—As already reported, yesterday afternoon all Soviet citizens were removed to safety after spending 4 days behind locked doors, listening to the sound of the crossfire, in the very center of Makati—the district of the Philippine capital which has been turned into a stronghold by the rebels who are still fighting President C. Aquino's regime.

People scattered among various residential buildings in Makati were taken in several trips in the Soviet ambassador's bullet-proof Mercedes to be housed in other Soviet establishments in the capital—in cramped but tolerable conditions. This operation was carried out simultaneously with the removal of other foreigners from Makati, particularly those living in the four hotels in the district. Many, however, have actually remained in the firing zone.

Today, with the uprising into its 6th day, the commercial district of Makati is still in the hands of the rebels, although the zone controlled by them has been almost halved. The group of rebels at the Maktan air force base (in Cebu Province) is also refusing to surrender.

The very fact that the uprising has lasted for almost a week says a great deal. Information has appeared which shows that the battle for Makati is far from a chance episode: It is an operation planned and thought out in the finest detail in advance, as an option to be held in reserve if the storming of the presidential palace, general staff headquarters, and Defense Ministry should fail.

The siege of Makati, to which no end is in sight, has hit at the very heart of the Aquino government. The district, where almost all foreign business was concentrated, has been paralyzed and turned into a dead zone. But just 1 and ½ months ago, C. Aquino said at a traditional dinner in honor of foreign correspondents before setting off for the United States: The regime is stable, the time of coups is past, and the Philippines is a country in which capital can and must be invested.

But now foreigners based in Makati are storming the desks of the international airport, which has now resumed work. Will their capital not follow hard on their heels? And the fact that a terrible blow has been dealt to tourism and future development projects is also a reality of the situation.

The authorities, who are talking about normalizing the situation and defeating the rebels, are essentially waging a psychological war for foreign capital. But the course of events is meanwhile raising serious questions. For example, where are the dead and wounded rebels? According to all available data, there are not actually any in Makati. It is not just that those involved in the uprising are elite units from the Philippine Armed Forces: a Marine infantry battalion and a battalion of scout-rangers trained for combating terrorists, including in urban conditions. Fighters in the "RAM" (the movement for the reform of the armed forces, which has become the general staff headquarters of the coup) say that the military have no great desire to open fire on their brothers. The police and members of the Constabulary dressed in Army uniform are another matter: Their friction with the Army has long been known. But this means that present events are only exacerbating the old enmity, which promises new problems for the future.

As for the figure of 5,000-7,000 rebels given earlier, it does seem to be fairly valid. "RAM" members say that their sympathisers include military garrisons on the islands of Mindanao and Negros, in the city of Legaspi to the south of the capital, and elsewhere. These are supposedly waiting to see how the matter ends so as to either join the revolt or wait for the next one.

Quite a number of questions are also raised by the brilliant preparation of the coup. Where, for example, did the rebels get their brand-new civilian jeeps and who is helping them with information? Congressmen in session and many newspapers are saying that important political figures and businessmen are mixed up in the coup. It appears to be a deeply echeloned conspiracy and, moreover, almost everyone knows the people behind it but no one is saying their names aloud.

All this means that even if the rebels in Makati capitulate today or tomorrow (or, what is more likely, filter through the covering detachments of government troops), the problems of the present administration will probably not end there.

CPSU Delegation Studies CPV Ideological Work

PM0712154189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general headline: "Official Reports"]

[Text] In line with the plan for interparty ties between the CPSU and the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV], a delegation of party workers led by I.A. Zaramenskiy, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department, was in Vietnam 25 November-4 December.

The delegation was acquainted with the CPV's experience of ideological work in the conditions of Vietnamese society's renewal. It had conversations at CPV Central Committee departments, the city party committees of Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh, and with leading workers from the main mass media organs.

UN Resolution on Cambodia Said 'Serious Mistake'

OW0412102089 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Belov commentary: "A Serious Mistake"]

[Text] The UN General Assembly recently adopted a resolution on the rCambodian situation. As is known, the resolution was approved by the majority of countries but opposed by the minority, including the Soviet Union, during voting as 12 countries abstained. On this, our station observer Belov writes the following commentary:

I believe that the debate on the Cambodian question was (?very) constructive. The countries, which held the opposite view and were mostly on the offensive during the debate a year ago, have to painstakingly explain their stand today, that is, to explain their disapproval of specific passages in the resolution. I believe that the change took place through not only a thawing in the international climate as a whole—relaxation of the tension—but also through accumulation of healthy examples in the process of settling regional conflicts.

As for the domestic situation in Cambodia, the year between the 43d and 44th UN General Assemblies witnessed a great deal of significant events: Dialogue among the Cambodians themselves was held at different levels; various political forces in Cambodia made their stands clear; new opportunities emerged; and bitter language gradually gave way to a realistic comparison of stands between parties' factions. The Paris international conference on the Cambodian question played an important role. Although the conference did not produce any concrete result, the scope of differences was considerably reduced in Paris. Only the establishment of an international supervisory (?system) to oversee a ceasefire and the Vietnamese troop withdrawal remained unsettled problems between the (?two sides). However, Vietnamese troops were already pulling out from Cambodia while the debate was still going on. It has become obvious that an agreement can also be reached on the establishment of a broadly representative government reflecting the interests of all patriotic forces in Cambodia.

I believe that it is more difficult to reach a consensus on the attitude toward the so-called Khmer Rouge, i.e., the Pol Pot clique. During the debate, the majority of UN members denounced the Khmer Rouge's outrageous atrocities against the Cambodian people and pledged not to let the Pol Pot elements return to power. However, (?when it was time to take action) the original script of the resolution, which the Soviet Union opposed, left many opportunities for the Khmer Rouge. For example, the resolution contains the provisions for the establishment of a quadripartite government and the Khmer Rouge is one of the four parties. The resolution calls for substituting a ban to repeat the Pol Pot elements' policies and measures for strong and (?unconditional) condemnation of their genocidal crime. You will probably agree with this call because [words indistinct], while the Cambodian people, including tens of thousands of refugees, have insisted that a condition must be created to ban the Pol Pot clique, which killed 3 million Cambodian people, from returning to power.

An AFP dispatch from New York pointed out the (?inconsistent) attitude of Australia and New Zealand. They have verbally denounced Pol Pot, but voted for the draft resolution, which has actually (?provided) the legal ground for the Khmer Rouge to realize their dream to rule in Cambodia. I believe the same evaluation can be applied to the stand taken by the United States and Britain. Sweden, however, has taken a different stand from the last year's UN General Assembly by abstaining from voting. As the Swedish permanent representative to the United Nations pointed out, Sweden cannot approve any role that the Khmer Rouge will play in the future. India's EXPRESS has called the adoption of the resolution on Cambodia a serious mistake. The newspaper said: The murderers among the Khmer Rouge will derive complete satisfaction from the resolution because it has given them the ground for their dream to participate in the new government system in Cambodia. I agree with the Indian newspaper's view.

IZVESTIYA Views Cambodia Situation

PM0612103589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 5

[B. Vinogradov dispatch: "To the Accompaniment of War"]

[Text] Phnom Penh—After a brief lull, fierce fighting has broken out again in the northwestern regions of Cambodia bordering on Thailand.

This time the armed opposition forces have concentrated the main thrust of their attacks on the small provincial town of Svay Chek and, according to news agencies in Bangkok, have succeeded in keeping the pressure on government troops, which have now retreated several kilometers inside the country and are covering the road to the south. At the same time, fighting has begun around Poipet, a border town through which the main routes from Cambodia to Thailand pass; these routes are actively used by traders from neighboring countries. None of the sides involved in the conflict are in any hurry to announce any successes at the front, evidently realizing that on a strategic level this activation of military operations does not have great significance.

On a political level, however, the opposition is clearly counting on picking up extra points to the accompaniment of war while preparations for the next round of talks are under way at various levels and in various forms outside Cambodia. Djakarta is seen as the most imminent possibility for resuming the dialogue in the future: The third informal meeting involving the four Cambodian sides and representatives of some other states is soon to be held here at the initiative of the ASEAN countries. It is still too early to give an exact date for this meeting, because the Pol Pot representatives have not yet agreed to take part. In fact, there have not really been any changes in the sides' positions in recent months, not counting the "hardening of attitude" factor which has been caused by the flareup of civil war.

Other countries in the Asian and Pacific region are trying to contribute to a settlement. Australia, in particular, which recently proposed a draft plan for ending the conflict. But, as soon as they saw it, observers did not give it long, because of one condition that is totally unacceptable to the government of the State of Cambodia: self-dissolution and, on this basis, the holding of general elections.

The changing stance of a number of Western countries, which point to the real danger of the return of Pol Pot's regime and a repetition of the genocide, also draws attention. In this connection they are urging Sihanouk increasingly strongly to break with the "Khmer Rouge" and seek ways leading to national reconciliation through cooperation with Hun Sen's government.

The statement by former U.S. secretary of state E. Muskie, who recently visited Cambodia and is now appealing to the White House to establish direct contact with Phnom Penh and abandon its policy of military support for the opposition which is playing into the hands of Pol Pot's followers in one way or another and creating the threat that they will be restored to power, has prompted a lot of response in the local press. E. Muskie has also spoken out against the civil war in Cambodia as a means of attaining political aims, describing this path as "senseless and tragic."

Evidently trends toward reassessing the situation surrounding Cambodia are gaining increasing weight in the international arena, and the Khmer opposition is being forced to reckon with this. At a press conference in Beijing, Sihanouk proposed a new settlement plan, which is the first to contain points designed to prevent the armed seizure of power by Pol Pot's followers. But it still retains the old formulas, at the center of which are mere good intentions and hopes for a peaceful solution with the aid of an international control mechanism. In particular, Sihanouk again proposes reducing the armed forces of all four Cambodian sides to 10,000 men each and stationing them in separate garrisons which will under the constant observation of a monitoring commission. He believes it would be enough to ban only Pol Pot and Ieng Sary from entering Cambodia to guarantee against the restoration of the genocidal regime. With this arrangement, it will supposedly be possible to hold elections in a year's time. With regard to international verification of the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, Sihanouk feels it is necessary to send a special UN mission to Cambodia to ascertain the absence of foreign servicemen in the country's territory.

The vague, illusory nature of this plan is also evident. Commentators note that the government of the State of Cambodia, which enjoys broad support among the population and has full authority, will never voluntarily surrender its positions. It again proposes an end to the bloodshed and a return to the negotiating table to resolve the problems by peaceful means.

Khmer Rouge Role in Cambodian Opposition Viewed

BK0712050189 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Comrade Boris Durov would like to comment on reports relating to Cambodia as follows:

In the past 2 months, many events took place in and around Cambodia: the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, the active military offensive of the opposing Cambodian groups, and Phnom Penh's military measures to end the threat along Cambodia's western border. All this has given food for thought to those who follow the Cambodian issue and study the path to find a solution to the Cambodian problem. The results of these studies have swiftly appeared in newspapers around the world. From the masses of articles relating to this issue, I have noticed a special feature that calls for a special comment.

Two or three years ago, no one considered the opposing Cambodian groups as a unified force, although this alliance has been formally set up. Furthermore, people have talked about the Pol Pot clique and the noncommunist groups of Sihanouk and Son Sann. So far, this consideration seems to be correct because the Khmer Rouge of Pol Pot and the groups of Samdech Sihanouk and Son Sann have been divided by irreconcilable differences, both ideological and individual. It is sufficient to cite the Samdech's [Sihanouk] statements saying that nothing can change Pol Pot, that people should not deal with Pol Pot, and so on. However, the majority of the people who have sympathized with the opposing Cambodian groups seem to have forgotten this. They have referred to the opposition as a unified political force that is fighting for the country's democratic future. The way they put it seems to say that the position of the legitimate Cambodian Government is not reasonable. Which government opposes a democratization process and brandishes weapons to fight against those who want freedom and democracy? However, the truth is not like this.

Deliberately, I would like you to go along with my supposition by considering that this idea comes from the agreement among the three opposing Cambodian groups that want a role in opposing the Phnom Penh government. In my view, this is the result of an uncritical attitude toward the statements by opposition leaders. Therefore, people have—as in the past—voiced their opposition and the Khmer Rouge have blocked all agreements. It is very dangerous that on the basis of this kind of attitude one notices the fading of the significance of events in Cambodia and the significance of the stance taken by the Phnom Penh government, according to which it is not Comrade Hun Sen and his government that oppose democratic changes. The comrade is on the side of democracy. One can easily see this by studying the proposals of the Cambodian Government concerning the implementation of national reconciliation programs. Furthermore, one should cite a sentence by 11 scholars, all Nobel prize laureates, to confirm this. In their recent statement, these scholars said: This time, the unimaginable event should be prevented from taking place in Cambodia; that is, the Cambodian people should be prevented from dying because of the Khmer Rouge threat.

This is the crux of the matter. The Khmer Rouge, who have always been under Pol Pot's command, have started the armed struggle for power in Cambodia. This threatens the Cambodian people. The world already knows the enormous price Cambodia paid during the nearly 4 years in the grip of the Pol Pot group. This group is currently trying to take revenge. To conceal this goal, the Khmer Rouge have relied on the alliance of the opposing Cambodian groups. Those who are on the side of this disguise and those who go along with the ideals of the opposing groups, according to which they are struggling for so-called democracy, have rendered a bad service to the Cambodian people. This is my belief.

Near East & South Asia

Iranian Media Reaction to Malta Talks Noted

NC0612221589 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The Iranian mass media have given immense attention to the meeting between Soviet and U.S. leaders Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush in Malta. In commentaries on the topic, there seems to be an underlying apprehension that the meeting between the United States and the USSR would metamorphose into a display of superpower preponderance over the developing countries. Realistic beliefs about the positive possibilities and influence of the meeting on international events were also present.

The apprehension was generated by the idea of Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush meeting aboard U.S. and Soviet warships off the Maltese coast. The world's attention to the two superpowers' concerted campaign for their own spheres of influence in this completely open and [word indistinct] area was interpreted by Iran as a symbol of the expansionist objectives of the Soviet Union and the United States. It appears that the weather attempted to remove this anxiety. Perhaps the sea became turbulent and stormy and the Soviet and U.S. leaders were forced to transfer the venue of their talks to the civilian vessel the "Maksim Gorkiy" so that the people should be reminded that joint international issues confront them in the face of which warships are also helpless and powerless.

Perhaps the tempestuous waters were a reminder that that we are all in the same boat and we should have a broader perspective on the world and act accordingly. Let us put metaphors aside for a while and add that what is important is that the real storm was not accompanied by a political cloudburst in Soviet and U.S. relations. [passage omitted]

The IRNA correspondent complained that, after the conclusion of the Gorbachev-Bush talks, the expectations of a superpower accord on the reduction of their military and naval forces in the Mediterranean or the dismantling of at least one U.S. base in the region were not fulfilled. He also expressed chagrin and despondency over the fact that, in his meeting, Gorbachev did not present any attractive gift packages in the form of future defusing of tension to the world.

One should keep in mind that the meeting off the coast of Malta was an interim one, prior to the official summit of the U.S. and Soviet leaders in June next year. [passage omitted].

Majlis Opposes Iranian Economic Policy

NC0712161289 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, as you know, the Majlis is continuing its deliberations on the new 5-year plan. These deliberations are being carried out in tandem with heated discussions on the fate of some nationalized industrial units which are being published in the mass media.

It seems that the new government's economic priorities have been definitely clarified. In solving the critical economic problems facing the country, the Iranian Government is trying to limit state intervention in economic affairs to a great extent and is basing its calculations on the expansion and growth of the private sector.

We know that 80 percent of Iran's industrial products are manufactured in state factories. However, many of these factories are not generating profits. Iranian officials say that only between 30 and 40 percent of the nationalized units are fully operational, while the remainder are registering losses of several billions rials. Government experts believe that the sale of some state industrial units to citizens will help promote economic growth. Central Bank Governor Mohammad Hoseyn 'Adeli has announced that shares in some of the nationalized industrial units will be offered to the public at the Tehran Stock Market soon. However, many Iranian newspapers reject this government statement and have launched a campaign opposing private financial companies. More than half of the Majlis deputies have issued a special statement pointing out that placing state units in the hands of private enterpreneurs will create chaos in economy and lead to inflation and shortages.

Apparently the cabinet's new policy has met strong opposition in the Majlis. It is no coincidence that Ayatollah Khamene'i recently condemned those who are criticizing the government's new economic program.

Thus, it seems that a relatively tense atmosphere has been created around some of the principles of the second [as heard] 5-year plan and the outcome of the Majlis deliberations may come as a great surprise.

Analyst Views Iran's Role in Lebanese Solution

NC0712163589 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Interview with Radio Moscow analyst Aleksandr Batyev by unidentified announcer—recorded; Batyev speaks in Russian with superimposed Persian translation]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Lebanese President al-Hirawi has called on the Arab countries to help overcome the extraordinary situation in Lebanon. This situation is the result of actions by Michel 'Awn. [passage omitted]

[Batyev] The current situation in Lebanon is truly critical. The differences between the president and General 'Awn have led to clashes between the Shiite groups of Amal and Hizballah in south Lebanon once again. One cannot rule out the possibility that these clashes might also involve the Israeli armed forces which are stationed nearby. However, the outlook is not completely bleak, since the first steps are now being taken to ease existing tensions. For example, we should refer to the Soviet-U.S. summit which was recently held off Malta.

[Announcer] What is the significance of this summit as far as the Near East situation is concerned?

[Batyev] As can be seen by the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit, these two countries achieved a high level of mutual cooperation in their activities and objectives in the Near East. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Does this not mean that the situation in the Near East will be normalized soon?

[Batyev] I do not want to exaggerate the influence of the Soviet Union and the United States, as is done in the capitals of some Near and Middle East countries where it is sometimes claimed that the two big powers can do whatever they want in the region. However, in this situation, both the Soviet Union and the United States can use their influence and their relations with their allies and thus encourage the sides involved in the Near East conflict to work toward a solution.

The solution of the Near East conflict, particularly the Lebanese conflict, is a comprehensive effort. Without the participation of Iran, whose influence in Near East affairs is widely recognized, the work cannot be completed. However, Tehran has so far adopted a dubious stand both on the efforts that took place some time ago to reach a solution to the Lebanese problem and on the efforts to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of the well-known UN resolutions. These resolutions envisage an international conference on the Near East in which all interested parties will participate. The recent Soviet-U.S. summit has undoubtedly helped to bring the date of this conference closer. Iran will definitely be invited to participate in this conference.

'Awn Blamed in Death of Lebanon's Mu'awwad

90UI0157A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 48, 29 Nov 89 p 9

[Article by Igor Belyayev: "17 X 17"]

[Text] Rene Mu'awwad was president of Lebanon for only 17 days, less than any of his predecessors. He died last week as a result of a bold terrorist act. A car containing a bomb tore to shreds the car in which the head of the Lebanese state was traveling. He was killed on Lebanese Independence Day. Seventeen people were killed along with him.

Attention is obviously drawn to the precisely calculated selectivity of the carefully prepared murder. Traveling in the presidential motorcade, the chairman of the parliament Husayn al-Husayn and Lebanese Prime Minister Salim Huss were not even wounded. One gets the impression that the terrorists wanted to get only the newly elected president of the republic. He had caused someone a lot of trouble. During the 2.5 weeks of his presidency, Rene Mu'awwad managed to show his will to resolve Lebanese problems at all levels. And the main thing—with the help of interested Arab states....

But still whose toes had the newly elected Lebanese president stepped on? So far there is only one answer to this question. Those who made the greatest fuss and protested most against his election were those who had pledged their allegiance to Michel 'Awn, the uncompromising general who is now in charge of a kind of "Maronite junta" in Eastern Beirut. Yes, he condemned the Lebanese president to death. But the more I thought about the murder of Rene Mu'awwad, the more I was forced to reach the same conclusion. Today the people around the general do not even want to hear about regulating Lebanese-Lebanese or Lebanese-Arab problems. For they dared to commit an unprecedented degradation of the patriarch of Maronites. The high priest of the largest of the Christian communities in Lebanon who supported the Maronite president was forced to get down on his knees and beg for his life from M. 'Awn's commandos who broke into his residence. Nothing like this had ever happened before in Lebanon....

Rene Mu'awwad is the second president to be killed since the beginning of the civil-religious denominational war in 1975. The first was Bashir Gemayel. He was killed several weeks after being elected. At that time, in 1982, Eastern Beirut was already occupied by Israeli soldiers. And the explosion that shook the staff headquarters of the Kataib party killed many. Bashikr Gemayel was among them.

In 1973 a top secret conference was held "somewhere in Lebanon." As I was told by the former Lebanese President Camille Chamoun, this is where they discussed the internal political situation that had been created in the country. Leaders of the Maronite community participated in it. They were the ones who decided to attack their political opponents in order to resolve the dispute about who should rule Lebanon in their favor once and for all. At that time the Maronite Christians had significant military formations numbering more than 10,000 men. And they were to have dealt a blow not only to the Lebanese communists but also to the Muslims, Druzes, and Palestinians. It was clear from the very beginning that the future war would be both civil and religious.

It began in September 1975 with an insignificant incident—six passengers were killed in a bus that had been stopped by commandos. And we know what came of that.

Now Lebanon is in ruins and if the destruction does not stop today, the worst might happen. The country could perish in the fire of civil strife. I think the situation there could get even worse....

Why will they not let Lebanon find itself, get on its feet, and exist normally like other civilized states? I think this is mainly because a truly independent, flourishing Lebanon as it was before September 1975 would not suit certain people. And we are well aware of who they are. And when the newly elected president tried to begin to regulate the crisis with the help of the Arabs, he was murdered....

But what will happen now? I think the Arabs will continue their efforts. There is no other way. No, there is not. The Soviet Union has not only supported the efforts of the "trio" of the League of Arab States for resolving the Lebanese conflicts. Of course this will help the new Lebanese president who has just been elected, Ilyas al-Hirawi.

We condemn not only the crude murder of Rene Mu'awwad, the president of the Lebanese Republic, but also the terrorist act itself with the goal of removing him from the political scene and creating a most terrible precedent. To "teach others a lesson." As we can see, political murders will continue as before to be a means of achieving dirty ends for those who wish to impose themselves on the peoples, large and small. The human conscience rejects terrorism and resolutely condemns it.

PRAVDA on Status of Lebanon Peace Quest

PM0712152389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Stepanov dispatch: "Lebanon: Search for a Way Out"]

[Text] Beirut, 6 Dec—The joint stand on Lebanon expressed at the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting off the coasts of Malta and the desire to prevent new bloodshed and to promote the efforts of the international Committee of Three, comprising Saudi Arabia, Algeria, and Morocco, for national reconciliation in this country have had a calming effect on the seething political passions here.

For their part the Arab three accused General M. 'Awn, who heads the administration in Lebanon's Christian zone, of being the main obstacle in the way of national concord and urged the sides to show restraint.

Meanwhile, Gen M. 'Awn has put forward demands such as the holding of parliamentary elections under UN control in Lebanon in the very near future. The "patriotic front" responded by demanding an end to M. 'Awn's "separatist mutiny" as soon as possible and calling for a general strike to be held Thursday under the sign of a "day of Lebanese unity."

The 7-day general strike in the eastern Christian zone in support of M. 'Awn has ended. All establishments, enterprises, and stores are now functioning. However, the round-the-clock sitdown strike by thousands of students and pupils around the presidential palace in B'abda, which is now occupied by M. 'Awn, is continuing.

It is reported that he has acknowledged that Syria has vital interests in Lebanon. In an interview with ITN, the British television news company, he declared his readiness to hold talks on this subject with the Syrian leadership.

Mediatory contacts are continuing at various levels in the search for a way out of the impasse.

U.S. Ambassador Meets With Afghan Officials

LD0712001189 Moscow TASS in English 2320 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Kabul December 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy:

U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan Robert Oakley has met President of the Afghan interim government, Serbghatullah Mojadeddi and requested that the field commanders subordinate to the Peshawar "Seven" stop the production, processing and smuggling of drugs from their zones.

The U.S. Ambassador had already made such a request to Mojadeddi and head of the transitional government Abdul Rasul Sayyaf on behalf of the U.S. Government last summer. The latter assured Oakley that clergymen would forbid high-ranking and rank-and-file counterrevolutionaries to engage in the drug business. The religious ban was issued but the situation has only changed for the worse.

The U.S. attitude towards drug manufacturing in Afghanistan and Pakistan cannot be called otherwise than double-faced. Mr. Oakley must have known it very well that the counterrevolutionaries and their field commanders earned additionally on hashish, opium and heroin and the manufacturing and smuggling of drugs had become their main field of activity.

While the U.S. department fighting against the spread of drugs is trying to control the drug smuggling routes in Afghanistan, the Central Intelligence Agency even encourages the drug activities of their Afghan clients.

An embargo on U.S. arms supplies to the rebels would be the best solution to this problem. It would contribute to an end of war in Afghanistan and create necessary preconditions for consistent and large-scale actions of the central government—the current or future, to eradicate the evil of predominantly Western society.

Afghan Rebels Said Trying to Subvert Republics

PM0712092989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by own correspondent Aleksandr Karpov: "Subversive Actions Stopped"]

[Text] Dushanbe—Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] KGB officers, operating in conjunction with border guards, have detected and stopped a number of cases of attempted subversion against the USSR.

Criminal proceedings have been instituted in several cases and investigations are under way. It has been proved, in particular, that one of those directly involved in implementing subversive plans was an engineer called Bashir—field commander and deputy leader of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan. He is also leader of an intelligence center. Together with his assistant, engineer Mirakhmad, Bashir set up a group of agents comprised of people living in the border area on the Afghan side. They all underwent training at military opposition camps. The group's main tasks were to induce Soviet citizens to commit particularly dangerous state crimes and bring money, weapons, ammunition, anti-Soviet literature, drugs, and other means of subversion into our territory. At the beginning of the year, members of Bashir's group illegally ferried a former inhabitant of Tajikistan across an inaccessible sector of the Soviet-Afghan border in pursuit of a special assignment given to him in Peshawar. The investigation of the criminal case against this man has ended and the documents have been submitted to the republic's Supreme Court.

The aim of the Afghan opposition formations' special services is to set up a team of accomplices in Tajikistan by recruiting negatively minded Soviet citizens, destabilize the situation in the Central Asian republics, and organize an anti-Soviet underground to combat the existing constitutional system in the USSR.

All this was related by the leaders of the Tajik SSR KGB at a press conference in Dushanbe. Specific examples were cited of the actions of officers whose efforts put a stop to the enemy's attempts bring weapons and ammunition across the border for terrorism and sabotage. A cache was discovered in the home of Azimov, a resident of the village of Dzhilga, Moskovskiy Rayon, Khatlon Oblast. This transpired during the investigation that he had been recruited by engineer Bashir's agents. Afghan citizens Abdurakhim, son of Khorkash, and Davlyatmad, son of Rustam [names as transliterated] were arrested while crossing the USSR state border. Both foreigners admitted to being members of the intelligence group and having been given the job of organizing an anti-Soviet underground on Tajik SSR territory.

Afghan Party Delegation Visits 27 Nov-4 Dec

PM0712164389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general headline: "Official Reports"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan of interparty ties between the CPSU and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA], a delegation of leading PDPA workers led by F.M. Vadan [name as transliterated], member of the PDPA Central Committee and chief of the Central Committee's Propaganda Department, was in the Soviet Union 27 November through 4 December.

The delegation had a conversation at CPSU Central Committee departments and the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee and familiarized itself with the activity of a number of industrial and agricultural enterprises in Moscow and the oblast.

Paper Reports Afghan Rebel Losses

PM0712152789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Dec 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report under the "From Abroad" rubric: "Situation in Afghanistan"]

[Text] Kabul, 6 Dec—A session of the Afghan Council of Ministers Executive Committee has been held here. It discussed the future plan for the development of the city of Towraghondi (Herat Province) [as published], which borders on the Soviet Union. The plan makes provision for its development over the next few years. The session also examined state organs' tasks in the sphere of mass cultural work in the Afghan capital, and other questions.

The latest offensive by the combined opposition forces, Pakistani servicemen, and Saudi mercenary detachments on the city of Jalalabad, the administrative center of Nangarhar Province, has ended in failure. According to information received by BAKHTAR, three well-known field commanders Zorab Gol, nicknamed "Khomeyni," Ruzuddin Khaled, and Abdulmatin [names as published] perished over the last few days in the combat area. The agency reports that Y. Khalis, one of the leaders of the antigovernment "Islamic Party of Afghanistan," described the field commanders' death as an irreparable loss for the opposition armed formations.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry has sent another two protest notes to the UN Good Offices Mission. They cite 17 instances of Pakistani violation of the Geneva agreements.

Analyst Views UN Debate on Palestinian Issue

LD0512164489 Moscow TASS in English 1254 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

The Palestinian people's struggle for self-determination, freedom and independence and for the establishment of a sovereign state of their own is a just one and earns all-round support.

Israel's actions, its expansionist course and the policy of genocide in the occupied Arab lands deserve every condemnation and counteraction.

The only way to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict is through the convocation of an international Middle East peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO).

Such is the meaning of three resolutions endorsed by an overwhelming majority of votes at the current session of the U.N. General Assembly in New York on Monday.

The U.N. resolutions obviously transcend the scope of a routine discussion of the Palestinian problem, which a U.N. debate often develops into.

At present the U.N. General Assembly for the first time favoured the adoption of practical measures to convene an international Middle East peace conference and specifically the setting of a special preparatory committee within the framework of the U.N. Security Council. Moreover, it urged the council's all permanent members to take part in the committee's work.

Three main aspects can be seen in this act of the U.N. General Assembly. First, the international community has finally unequivocally supported the Soviet call to actuate the mechanism of a comprehensive Middle East settlement by setting up a specific body to prepare an international conference on the issue.

Second, the international community's desire to draw all permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, including the United States, into this work is manifest.

The U.S., unlike other members of the council, views such a conference only as a stage towards direct negotiations between the conflicting sides.

Third, the U.N. General Assembly's resolution on an international Middle East peace conference can also be regarded as a desire to overcome the opposition of the present Israeli authorities.

The assembly's decision is yet another reaffirmation of the international community's growing conviction that the holding of such forum is the only real and reliable way that may lead to a just settlement in the region, due to which the Palestinian people will gain a homeland of its own while the people of Israel, along with Arab peoples, would have reliable peace and security.

The assembly's decision has also been undoubtedly influenced by the fact that there is now a solid international-legal and political basis for the holding of such a conference.

An opportunity is now opening up to begin purposeful bilateral and multilateral contacts without delay to discuss the key aspects of a settlement and to work out mutually acceptable accords on specific ways to achieve it.

A prompt formation of the preparatory committee under the U.N. Security Council's authority could play its role in the holding of an international Middle East peace conference which is the sole universal and most flexible and effective forum to undo the protracted Arab-Israeli conflict.

More on Parliamentarians' Talks in Syria

PM0712163189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "On the Visit to Syria by a USSR Supreme Soviet Delegation"]

[Text] At the invitation of the Syrian People's Council, a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by A.M. Masaliyev, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet and first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, paid an official visit to the Syrian Arab Republic from 27 November through 4 December 1989.

The delegation included USSR Supreme Soviet members A.F. Kasyanov, S.G. Lushchikov, G. Safiyeva, and V.M. Shabanov.

The delegation was received by Hafiz al-Asad, general secretary of the Ba'th Party and president of Syria, to whom it gave a message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Meetings were held with 'A.al-Q. Qaddurah, chairman of the Syrian People's Council, and a People's Council delegation; M. al-Zubi, chairman of the Syrian Council of Ministers; and F. al-Shara', Syrian foreign minister.

During the conversations, which were held in a friendly atmosphere, the parliamentarians exchanged information on the activity of the two countries' legislative organs and discussed topical regional and international problems, and the state of, prospects for, and ways of further strengthening the relations of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and Syria.

The People's Council members acquainted the Soviet representatives with the internal development tasks that are being resolved by Syria under H. al-Asad's leadership, the country's achievements in various spheres, the main directions of Syria's foreign policy, and the Syrian parliament's activity.

The Soviet delegation described the profound political and socioeconomic transformations taking place in the USSR, the processes of democratization and glasnost, and progress in implementing the policy aimed at restoring the sovereignty of the soviets.

When discussing international questions, the two countries' parliamentarians noted that the trends toward the improvement of the political climate which are gaining momentum meet the fundamental interests of all the peoples. They unanimously supported the consolidation and development of this process by reducing and eliminating the nuclear arsenals and strengthening international peace and security.

The Syrian side supported the USSR's line aimed at the democratization and humanization of international relations and the specific steps which it has undertaken to create a world free of nuclear weapons and violence.

The Soviet parliamentarians confirmed their invariable solidarity with the Syrian people in the struggle for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories, including the Golan Heights, and the restoration of the Palestinian Arab people's legitimate national rights. They noted the prominent role which Syria is playing in the efforts to create an all-embracing system of international peace and security within the UN and Nonaligned Movement framework.

The Soviet and Syrian parliamentarians are convinced that one of the imperatives of the modern world is to resolve regional conflicts and eliminate centers of tension on a just and all-embracing basis while ensuring the legitimate interests of all sides and the right of every people to the free choice of national development paths.

In this context concern was expressed at the situation in the Near East, which poses a serious threat to world peace and security.

The two sides support the adoption of urgent measures aimed at achieving an all-embracing and just settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the convening of an international peace conference on the Near East involving all the interested sides, including the PLO and the permanent members of the UN Security Council. Such a settlement should ensure the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967 and the Palestinian Arab people's right to self-determination in accordance with UN resolutions.

The sides declared their full support for the courageous Palestinian uprising on the occupied territories which is aimed at ending the Israeli occupation. They condemned the Israeli occupation authorities' barbarous actions against the Palestinian people—actions which crudely violate human rights and are condemned by the international community.

They confirmed their support for the national resistance in south Lebanon. They condemned Israel's use of force in the Golan Heights and attempts to obliterate the national identity of the Syrian population of that territory.

The Soviet and Syrian parliamentarians welcomed the positive changes in Lebanon as a result of the efforts of the Arab League's Committee of Three and Syria's constructive position with active international support. Note was made of the need for the complete fulfillment of the Al-Ta'if accords in the interests of achieving national accord among the Lebanese while preserving Lebanon as a single, sovereign, independent, and territorially integral Arab state. They welcome the process of the restoration of constitutional institutions in that country on the basis of the "charter of national accord." The sides advocated the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from south Lebanon.

After confirming their support for the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, the sides stressed the importance of their unconditional observance by all the sides, which will ensure the Afghan people's ability to resolve their problems themselves, to determine the paths of the country's further development, and to preserve Afghanistan's national sovereignty and status as a nonaligned state.

The sides advocated the activation of efforts to implement the ideas of transforming the Mediterranean region into a zone of peace free from nuclear weapons and foreign bases.

Both sides expressed the conviction that the strengthening of the positive trends in world politics demands the active participation of different countries' parliamentarians. In this connection parliamentary ties, both bilateral and multilateral, become increasingly significant.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the development of Soviet-Syrian relations, which are marked by close friendship and multifaceted cooperation.

The Soviet and Syrian legislators rated highly the productive cooperation between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Syrian People's Council and are convinced that its further development is in the interests of the two friendly countries' peoples and the struggle for peace, independence, and social progress throughout the world.

The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation expressed deep gratitude to the Syrian side for the warm reception, hospitality, and cordiality shown to the Soviet parliamentarians during their stay in Syria and invited a People's Council delegation to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union.

The invitation was accepted with gratitude. The date of the visit will be decided later.

Army General Tretyak Visits Syria

Departs Moscow 3 Dec

PM0712121189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Dec 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 3 December Army General I.M. Tretyak, commander in chief of the Air Defense Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister, left Moscow for Damascus where he will pay an official visit.

The sendoff party included M. Fadli, minister plenipotentiary at the Syrian Embassy in the USSR.

Meets Talas; Departs 7 Dec

LD0712232389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1610 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Damascus—Army General Ivan Tretyak, commander in chief of the anti-aircraft defense troops and deputy USSR minister of defense, who has been in Syria at the invitation of the Defense Ministry of the Syrian Arab Republic, was received by Gen Mustafa Talas, deputy commander in chief of the armed forces, deputy prime minister, and minister of defense of the Syrian Arab Republic.

A conversation was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere in which the successful development of relations between the Soviet Union and Syria, including in the field of defense, was noted.

The Soviet guest visited a number of military units, looked at military equipment, learned of the training and material-technical basis, and talked to personnel.

Today Army Gen Ivan Tretyak left Syria.

Military Assistance to India Questioned

WA0412205289 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 48, 2-8 Dec 89 p 8

[Text]**Will our continued military assistance to other countries, to India for example, not create additional difficulties for the economy of the USSR?**

[Signed] I. Novikova, Mozhaysk.

We asked V. Kashin, candidate of historical sciences, to answer this question.

USSR cooperation with developing countries is multilateral, and it contributes, in particular, to strengthening the defensive capability of a sovereign state. As for India, the delivery of Soviet weapons began in the 1950's. According to data of the American press, just in the period 1983 to 1987, the USSR sold India weapons in the sum of $7.6 billion.

As a rule, the USSR gives weapons on credit that is paid off in equal shares with payments to the creditor at appropriate rates of interest. Soviet military credits to India are long-term on conditions of 2.5 percent, while the size of the annual rate of interest of the United States and its NATO allies is higher by a factor of 1.5 to 2.

India is paying off its military credits by supplying consumer products for the Soviet market.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Angola's Dos Santos Receives Soviet Official

PM0712162789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 5

[TASS report under general headline: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola and president of the People's Republic of Angola, received Yu.A. Yukalov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry African Countries Administration, in Luanda Thursday [30 November].

The conversation was attended by V.N. Kazimirov, USSR ambassador to Angola.

Visit by RSA's De Klerk to Ivory Coast Viewed

MB0612172289 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 6 Dec 89

[(Yelena Olgenov) commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] In what is seen as an attempt at a diplomatic breakthrough in Africa, President Frederik de Klerk of South Africa paid a formal visit to Ivory Coast last week. Ivory Coast [word indistinct] is among South Africa's longstanding trading partners, although attempts at establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries date back to the 1970's. That did not happene, but the issue has been raised occasionally since.

Because of general repulsion felt toward apartheid in South Africa, as well as in Europe, America, and Asia, the exchange of diplomatic missions between Ivory Coast and South Africa is hardly on the cards in the near future. Although Mr de Klerk has no doubt that Ivory Coast will become the first African country for a diplomatic breakthrough in the continent, with others likely to follow, it is precisely the apartheid system which is the main stumbling block to South Africa's diplomatic recognition that it has been seeking for years.

During his stay in Ivory Coast, Mr de Klerk reiterated the need for South Africa's membership in the Organization of African Unity, the OAU, as a full-fledged member in its own right. At a news conference in Yamoussoukro, his foreign minister, Roelof Botha, who accompanied the president, had angrily rejected [words indistinct] that his country's relations with African states could be anything near to old colonial-style relations. He was quoted as saying: We are as much Africans as the rest of the continent. The issue of South Africa's future on the continent was also discussed during Mr de Klerk's meeting with the dean of African ambassadors in Yamoussoukro.

It is quite clear, meanwhile, that Pretoria's success in foreign policy is directly linked to how consistently it carries out its internal reforms, although the situation in South Africa was not on the agenda at the talks in Ivory Coast. On the release of the ANC [African National Congress] leader, Nelson Mandela, Mr de Klerk was quoted as saying: He would be set free as soon as it becomes possible. However, Mandela's release is one of the preconditions for opening a creative dialogue. It would be absurd to shake hands with the leaders of black African countries while denying elementary political rights to the black majority within South Africa itself. The future of South Africa's diplomatic relations with the rest of Africa, or its OAU membership, is much dependent on whether or not its apartheid regime is allowed to continue further.

Commentary on Sudan-SPLA Peace Talks

EA0612122289 Moscow International Service in Swahili 1730 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Aleksandr Mikhaylov commentary]

[Text] The current Nairobi talks are vital because the two warring sides appear to be determined to achieve peace. It is gratifying that the stand taken by many other nations during the preparations for the talks has been identical. The two superpowers have been cooperating on the issue. The Soviet Foreign Ministry issued a statement resolutely calling on the warring sides to seek ways of resolving the issues politically and not militarily.

Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter is the mediator in the current talks. A big role in arranging the talks has also been played by the OAU chairman, Mr Mubarak, as well as by the heads of state of Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania and by other African leaders. [passage indistinct].

Whether Sudan is to proceed towards peace will greatly depend on goodwill, the stand taken by the delegations, and their ability to loosen the tether. According to reports from Nairobi, a conducive atmosphere has been created for the talks. Both delegations, from Khartoum and the Sudanese People's Liberation Army [SPLA], are optimistic about a peaceful outcome to the southern Sudan problem [words indistinct]. Agreement has just been reached on the movement of emergency relief aid to the people of southern Sudan who have been adversely affected by famine.

Three basic issues are expected to be featured during the talks. On these the delegates from both sides appear to be taking opposing stands. These are the Islamic shari'a law, the defense pacts between Sudan, Libya, and Egypt, and the state of emergency. The SPLA wants these three issues to be resolved. The Khartoum government [words indistinct].

The official spokesman of the Sudanese Government has expressed optimism about the outcome of the discussions on Islamic shari'a. He said a solution to this question would make it possible to reach agreement on other problems. The head of the Khartoum delegation, Colonel Muhammad al-Khalifah, said that his government was striving to maintain national integrity and to adopt a federal system for all the regions of the Sudan. He said all this must be done on the basis of respecting the cultural, religious, and tribal traditions of the people.

His adversary, Lam Akol, the SPLA delegate, said that the SPLA was fighting for a united Sudan in which human rights would be respected. He said that tribal issues should not be a pretext for dividing people into (?hostile) groups. (? It is easy) to see that, despite these differences, an important principle has been agreed by both sides. Both want peace in their country. They want to develop it and they feel that all citizens should have equal rights. This means that a peaceful solution can be achieved.

Lukyanov Receives New Ugandan Ambassador

PM0712161189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] F. Okoboi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Uganda, presented his credentials to A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, 6 December.

The ambassador noted the coincidence of the two countries' views on the world's main problems and their common appraisals of the main principles determining international relations. We, he said, are united in our peoples' desires and hopes to live in a world without wars. The tremendous resources diverted into the arms race could be channeled toward raising the level of mankind's economic prosperity.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and its chairman, A.I. Lukyanov emphasized that the new political thinking, having become dominant in world politics, is yielding positive fruit. Multilateral efforts to strengthen international security have been stepped up. People in the Soviet

Union attach great importance to broad cooperation with African countries for the benefit of peace and progress. The world is witnessing the development of multilevel dialogue between the USSR and the United States, and the recent meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush off Malta was a landmark in this dialogue.

Both sides noted that Soviet-Ugandan relations are founded on sound traditions of mutual understanding, respect, noninterference in one another's affairs, and the desire to deepen mutually advantageous bilateral cooperation.

A friendly conversation took place between A.I. Lukyanov and F. Okoboi after the presentation of credentials.

East Europe

Soviet Troops in GDR Take 'Emergency Measures'

LD0812123389 Hamburg DPA in German 1215 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—According to DPA information, the Soviet Army in the GDR has taken "emergency measures." It was learned from Western secret service circles today that there was a demonstration in front of a Soviet barracks several days ago. It was carried out peacefully.

After the demonstration, however, measures taken by Soviet soldiers to protect their facilities were observed. Nothing is known about the extent of the degree of the emergency. Also it cannot be confirmed whether it is a "direct alarm readiness" of the Soviet Armed Forces.

GDR Army Bases Attacked; SED Congress Plans

PM0812133589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy dispatch under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "GDR: 8 December—Extraordinary SED Congress"]

[Text] Berlin—Events are unfolding at a giddy pace, and fears that they will get out of control are increasingly making themselves felt. In the past few hours attacks on National People's Army facilities have become more frequent. The GDR Government has appealed to the population to remain calm and reasonable, stressing that the army's task, as written in the Constitution, consists solely in protecting the peaceful life of citizens against attacks from outside.

An address from the command is being read out in army and border units. It calls on servicemen to display restraint and vigilance and not give in to any provocations or allow anyone access to arms and ammunition depots. Together with servicemen from the Soviet Armed Forces and other Warsaw Pact armies, GDR soldiers must reliably guard the peace in Central Europe, the address says.

Various GDR social organizations and church leaders have appealed to citizens not to yield to their emotions. Willy Brandt, chairman of the Socialist International and honorary chairman of the FRG's Social Democratic Party, who is in Rostock, called on citizens not to lose their reason, and he said that chaos has never led to anything good.

The State Council met in session Wednesday. Opening the session, Egon Krenz announced his resignation from the post of chairman of the State Council as well as the post of chairman of the National Defense Council. Under the Constitution, Manfred Gerlach, who is deputy chairman at present, will fulfill the duties of chairman of the State Council until the next session of the People's Chamber. M. Gerlach heads the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany. He is an experienced politician and an advocate of swift and profound reforms and the resolute democratization of the country.

The State Council adopted a decision on a partial amnesty, which does not extend to people who have committed serious crimes or to war or Nazi criminals. After it was adopted, all the members of the National Defense Council were released from their duties.

An extraordinary congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] opens Friday, 8 December. This was decided by the working commission that is temporarily fulfilling the duties of the supreme party organ after the resignation of the Politburo and the Central Committee. Remember, it consists of 25 members, those whose reputations were not tainted during the period of Honecker's rule.

It has been announced that the working commission will present at the congress a report analyzing the situation in the party and the country, which are both in a profound crisis. It will submit proposals for the radical reorganization of the SED and its transformation into a "modern socialist party." The party's immediate tasks will be discussed and its leading organs will be elected; these latter are called upon to reinvigorate the SED in conditions of the rapid renewal of society. A conclusive break will be made at this congress with the Stalinist model of socialism and the resulting monopoly of and abuse of power, the commission announced.

This morning West German radio broadcast that A. Schalck-Golodkowski, state secretary and former member of the SED Central Committee who has been in hiding, has given himself up to FRG police. He is now in custody awaiting trial in Moabit Prison in West Berlin. GDR National Security Department staff have arrested his deputy, M. Seidel, who is accused of transferring around DM200 million to his foreign bank account in collaboration with his boss.

The investigation into the Schalck-Golodkowski case brings new sensations every day. This particularly concerns illegal arms dealing at the firm IMES, whose depots are situated in the village of Kavelstorf near Rostock. A dry-cargo ship, "Bernburg", with a large cargo of weapons and ammunition, was to have left its moorings at Rostock next Saturday. When the scandal concerning Schalck-Golodkowski's case broke, all the documents connected with the transportation and transfer of the weapons were destroyed.

Army Not Tolerating Further Attacks

LD0712202189 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin December 7 TASS—There have been reports of attempts to penetrate into the facilities and establishments of the GDR National People's Army. In this connection, the government urges the public to keep calm and show common sense, the GDR Council of Ministers said in a statement published on Thursday [7 December].

The National People's Army, the statement stresses, fulfills a single task in accordance with the Constitution—protecting the citizens' peaceful life from outside attacks. The Armed Forces are appropriately equipped and trained for this purpose. The GDR Government urgently calls to stop all actions against Army facilities and establishments.

The command of the National People's Army and border troops of the GDR has urged all servicemen to honestly fulfill their civic duty. An appeal published today says that only joint efforts can ensure and preserve the sovereignty of the GDR and save the country from the anarchy and chaos at this difficult time. The command of the National People's Army and border troops urged its servicemen to continue reliably protecting peace in Central Europe jointly with the Armed Forces of the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty member countries.

It is essential to enhance vigilance in all units of the National People's Army. Breaches of order and security at military facilities should not be permitted. It is necessary to prevent illegal access to arms and ammunition, and to rule out the danger for the lives of citizens and soldiers. Border guards should keep order at the border at appropriate level, the document runs.

Government Spokesman Wolfgang Mayer said the situation in the GDR has further exacerbated. Speaking before journalists in Berlin today, he said that that process was primarily linked with the facts of abuse of power and high-level corruption.

Wolfgang Schwanitz, head of the Office for National Security, told a news conference that the lives and health of staff and members of their families are in extreme danger in some districts and regions of the GDR. This development could lead to unforeseeable consequences for the country and its people.

Schwanitz said that the Council of Ministers today passed a document urging to restore order and security.

USSR Special 'Stake' in GDR Stability Seen

LD0712180889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1635 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Commentary by TASS political observer Aleksandr Kondrashov]

[Text] TASS political observer Aleksandr Kondrashov writes: Alarming news is coming from the German Democratic Republic these days.

Unfortunately, the stormy and contradictory process of renewal is bringing not only favorable changes to the life of society. Together with an unprecedented growth in the civil activeness of the population and its resolve to put an end to corruption and the abuse of power by former leading functionaries, we are also witnessing attempts to undermine political stability and introduce chaos into public life. The most alarming evidences of this are the reports that attacks are being prepared on sites of the National People's Army of the GDR which are mentioned in a declaration by the GDR Government.

It is hard to say yet what specific aims are being pursued by the organizers of these dangerous actions. One thing is clear: This has nothing in common with the aims of the socialist renewal of the GDR or with democratization and the elimination of the deformations of the past. If school classes on Saturdays have already been cancelled in the country because of the absence of guarantees of the safety of the children, then it is not difficult to imagine the consequences which the seizure of arms and ammunition could lead to. An appeal by the command of the National People's Army and the GDR's border forces warns about this. Attempts to discredit the army and servicemen, who are not only honestly carrying out their constitutional duty in protecting the peaceful life of the citizens of the country but also giving effective help to its national economy, have no less serious consequences either.

Now, in a situation which is so complex for the republic, its army is one of the main guarantors of the GDR's sovereignty. The task of protecting the country from external encroachments and the role of the National People's Army in the defense structure of the Warsaw Pact have not at all lost significance. It would be illusory to suppose that those forces have disappeared which, despite the logic of the lessening of tension and of the beneficial common European processes, are continuing to bring forth refined plans for the forcible removal of the GDR from the map of Europe.

The very important international meetings and talks of recent times have shown that the whole world has a stake in the inviolability of the postwar European boundaries and in stability and security on our continent, and first and foremost in this sensitive region as the line of contiguity between the two German states. The Soviet Union, which sees not only a reliable friend and ally in the German Democratic Republic but also an important guarantor of peace and stability in Europe, especially has a stake in this.

'Incredible Rapidity' of GDR Changes Viewed

PM0712114989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy report: "GDR: Process of Change Irreversible"]

[Text] Berlin—How the times have changed! Just 2 months ago Erich Honecker was reviewing parades and torch-lit processions from lofty platforms; now he has been expelled from the party, placed under house arrest, and is not allowed to leave his villa in Wandlitz, a small town near Berlin. When Germans I speak to mention his name there is no gloating; they are indignant and bewildered. How could it be that an antifascist fighter who spent many years in a Nazi prison and was one of the creators of the GDR has effectively changed his nature and set himself in opposition to those he was supposed to serve?

Events in the GDR are developing with incredible rapidity, undermining those who plunged the country into crisis. G. Wendland, GDR prosecutor general, and the first deputy prosecutor general have resigned. As the press reports, they had been delaying the investigation of the cases of former leaders involved in corruption and embezzlement of state property.

Those with guilty feelings are hurrying to cover their traces. There have been rumors that an attempt had been made to take a quantity of compromising documents to Romania; it was claimed that these had been packaged up and taken from the Central Committee building to Berlin's Schoenefeld airport. The national security department was notified of this. On its leader's orders the Bucharest flight was delayed. A check revealed no documents in the baggage.

Strict monitoring has been established at the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee building. In addition to documents, the contents of dossiers and briefcases are being examined here. Public organizations have assumed the job of monitoring local national security directorates because they think important papers might disappear from there, too.

Some important news—the talks between Hans Modrow, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister Rudolf Seiters, head of the FRG chancellor's office, have ended in Berlin. Questions of the further expansion of GDR-FRG relations were discussed. It was announced that there will be a meeting between H. Modrow and Federal Chancellor Kohl in Dresden on 19 December. It has been decided to set up a joint currency fund which can be used to enable GDR citizens to exchange their East German marks for West German marks for travel to the FRG and West Berlin (M200 a year: M100 at the rate of one for one, the other M100 at the rate of one for five). Beginning with the new year the so-called "welcome" gift of DM100 on the Western side of the border is to be abolished. The GDR Government has stated that it will examine the question of a more favorable exchange rate for GDR marks against FRG marks for visitors from West Germany. Beginning in the new year they will no longer need a visa to enter the GDR. Citizens of both states will be able to cross the border freely. Many restrictions on the carriage of goods are being lifted.

The two sides have agreed to begin talks soon on expanding trade and cooperation in the economic sphere, creating joint ventures, and expanding tourism. The talks will discuss the development of cooperation in environmental protection, on improving mail and telephone links, and on building a new high-speed rail line between Berlin and Hannover (FRG).

It is clear that relations between the two German states are expanding not by the day but by the hour. In conversation with journalists after the meeting with R. Seiters, H. Modrow stressed: "At the meeting with Chancellor Kohl there will be a discussion of the GDR's idea of a contractual community—both with regard to the 'connectedness' ['svyazannost'] of the two sovereign German states existing independently of one another in the European home and in the sphere of their bilateral relations."

7 Dec SED-Opposition Roundtable Reported

LD0712222289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Dec 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; V. Mostovoy video report from Berlin]

[Text] The situation within this country has become noticeably more difficult over the past 24 hours. Many political and administrative structures are currently in a state of reorganization. [Video shows street scenes.] Following Egon Krenz's resignation from the point of chairman of the State Council, the acting leader of the state will be Professor Manfred Gerlach, the chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, who has stressed that he regards this duty for himself as temporary and does not intend to stand as a candidate in the future. [Video shows still photos of Krenz and Gerlach.] All the members of the National Defense Council, which Egon Krenz also headed, have resigned too. The democratic bloc has suspended its activities; it brought together all the parties and the various mass public organizations in order to draw up unified policies within the country throughout the history of the GDR. [Video shows Gerlach speaking, various meetings taking place.]

These facts are giving rise to certain negative phenomena within the country. It is not a matter of chance that all the GDR's central newspapers have today featured as their opening item the GDR government's appeal for calm and good sense. [Video shows newspapers.] This results from the fact that, during the last few hours, there have been increasingly frequent reports about possible attacks on the installations and establishments of the GDR National People's Army.

But today's main event is the so-called roundtable.

[Video shows reporters taking notes at a meeting, then Mostovoy appears on the screen outside a building. Behind him is a crowd. He begins speaking towards the camera.] In this building in the center of Berlin, kindly made available by the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, representatives of the five political parties that used to exist and still do exist, public organizations, the new democratic movements, and the seven new parties formed in the GDR during the last few months sat down at the negotiating table today at 1600 Moscow time. Just before the start of the talks hundreds of people gathered around the building, demanding that trade union representatives take part in the forum. A reply to that demand will be given by those attending the talks. [Video shows crowds shouting demands.] Great importance attaches to the roundtable in today's difficult situation. It is, in effect, the start of a dialogue between all the political forces in the country, the start of a new stage in their democratic interaction. [Video shows meeting in progress.] Despite the participants' different views and opinions, they have a single platform concerning the main thing: Calling for the preservation and renewal of socialism in the GDR. [Video shows more meeting scenes. GDR Premier Modrow is shown in attendance.] The participation in the talks of the representatives of an absolute majority of the population guarantees joint responsibility for the country's destiny and the safety of all citizens. The results of the roundtable's work will be made known late in the evening.

SED Platform Cited on Reunification, Warsaw Pact

LD0712211689 Moscow TASS in English 2054 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin December 7 TASS—The working commission of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SUPG, SED] for the preparation of an extraordinary party congress to open on December 8 issued the platform for debate "For Alternative Democratic Socialism."

In that document the commission sets out its views of the requirements of primary party organisations to transform the Socialist Unity Party of Germany into a contemporary socialist party.

At the same time it is noted that the party bears the responsibility for the most acute crisis in the history of the German Democratic Republic. It is emphasized that there is a need for rejecting structures of the SUPG that bear the imprint of Stalinism.

The document says that the crisis in the GDR can be resolved only on condition that the SUPG jointly with other democratic forces takes a new road, rejects administrative socialism and does not allow for the domination of transnational monopolies.

"We declare for the solution of the German question not on the national-German spirit, but in the spirit of Europe's democratisation and demilitarisation," the document says. "We are for relations of cooperation between the German Democratic Republic and West Germany, relations based on confidence."

In conclusion, the document says that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany wholly confirms its loyalty to the alliance with the Soviet Communist Party and declares for all-round development of friendly relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union.

The document says that the Oder-Neisse frontier is inviolable. It says that every effort promoting friendship of the people of the German Democratic Republic with the neighbouring peoples of Poland and Czechoslovakia, with all other peoples will be supported. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany confirms the GDR's loyalty to its allied obligations under the Warsaw Treaty.

GDR Press Revelations of High-Level Corruption

WA0712202889 Moscow TRUD in Russian 3 Dec 89 p 3

[V. Nikitin report: "Moral Decline"]

[Text] Berlin, 2 December—Almost every day the GDR newspapers are reporting new cases of abuses by former party and government leaders. A complete investigation and punishment of the guilty regardless of rank and service is today perhaps one of the most important demands of perestroyka in the republic.

I recently told readers about the personal hunting lodge of the former chairman of the Central Board of the German Union of Free Trade Unions H. Tisch (TRUD 29 Nov 1989). And now another "snug home" has become known that journalists found in the center of a nature park in the outskirts of Neubrandenburg. It served the former chairman of the Republic Council of State and Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo member W. Stoph. An enormous villa with a swimming pool and five bathrooms, kitchens, and spacious rooms, with a bar. The cellar contained more than a dozen enormous refrigerators filled with expensive foods produced in the West. Alongside were hundreds of bottles of chateau-bottled wines from the same market. And all around the villa were fruit trees and vegetable plots, hothouses and garages. This, then, was the appearance of the place where the head of the workers' and peasants' government sometimes spent his Saturdays and Sundays.

My local colleagues have revealed an entire kingdom of hunting lodges and castles where former members of the Politburo reigned: General Secretary E. Honecker, Central Committee secretaries W. Krolikowski and G. Mittag, Council of Ministers Deputy Chairmen G. Kleiber and A. Neumann, Minister of State Security E. Mielke, and leaders of lesser rank. For example, in that same area of Neubrandenburg one-fifth of all the forest area, camouflaged as an army firing range, was given over to a hunting area for the amusement of these people. A large number of workers and employees were used to maintain the areas, and last year almost 6 million marks were spent for this from the scientific research and cultural work fund.

Ten days ago at a session of the GDR Volkskammer an interim parliamentary commission was set up to investigate cases of corruption and abuse of official position by former party, state, and public functionaries. And yesterday the deputies, and along with them the entire population of the republic, saw on television the first report from the commission. As one of the deputies admitted to me, it sometimes seemed to him that it was a matter of the adventures of the mafiosi.

Judge for yourselves. A house was built for the son of Politburo member W. Krolikowski that cost 400,000 marks, and he acquired it for 125,000 marks. Private residences were built for the children of W. Stoph, G. Mittag, and G. Kleiber, and for the president of the Volkskammer H. Sindermann.

A wave of indignation ran through the hall when the commission chairman made public information about yet another sphere. In December 1978 the GDR minister for construction succeeded in "checking" annual grants of 20,000 marks for honorary members of the Construction Academy whom he himself appointed. And a few days later E. Honecker and the "economic strategist" G. Mittag became those honorary members. Since that time the "great architects of socialism in the colors of the GDR" have each pocketed 240,000 marks of the people's money.

The commission presented its preliminary results. But the list of abuses seems endless. The ADN agency has just reported that the criminal police in the Erfuhrt District are investigating a case of illegal use of financial assets by former Politburo member and first secretary of the party district committee G. Mueller. Another hunting lodge has been sealed off.

The chairman of the parliamentary commission has called on local state organs to follow the example of the Volkskammer and purge themselves of everything bad.

CSSR Sliding Toward 'Disorganization,' 'Chaos'

LD0712181489 Moscow TASS in English 1738 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Prague December 7 TASS—By TASS correspondents Valeriy Rzhevskiy and Vitaliy Yaroshevskiy:

The search for a way out of the sociopolitical crisis continues in Czechoslovakia. The dialogue between the various political forces is increasingly complex. This was confirmed by Premier Ladislav Adamec on Czechoslovak television.

He spoke of being continuously pressured with ultimatums and threats of strikes and demonstrations. "During the recent talks in Moscow," Adamec said, "we obtained important support for our efforts to get society out of the crisis. Based on the federal government proposal to reassess the introduction of troops in August 1968, this chapter in the national history is closed in political terms. We have again seen that Gorbachev understands Czechoslovak problems and interests."

Analysing the current problems, Adamec said that the government does not have the conditions necessary for its work. He sees the only way out for himself—to ask the president to accept his resignation.

The premier is an active proponent of economic and political reforms in Czechoslovakia. His decision clearly confirms the growing slide of certain forces towards disorganisation and chaos in the country. The coming days will show whether a compromise can be found and whether wisdom and patience will be manifested in this uneasy situation.

Yesterday "Civil Forum" leaders met with the party's General Secretary K. Urbanek and Premier Adamec. Based on the reports about these meetings, one can assume that the dialogue will help untie this complex knot of problems. The sides, a party spokesman said, expressed a reciprocal desire to tackle the problems responsibly and rapidly in order to forestall upheavals.

The dialogue has been joined by all the political parties and new movements that have appeared recently. Thus the "Democratic Forum of Communists" (DFC) released a statement calling on all communists to rally around the "Forum" and operate both inside and outside the Communist Party. DFC's principal goal is to overcome the crisis in the party and society.

Notable changes are occurring in the Communist Party's activities. Those expelled from it in the wake of 1968 can now rejoin the party. Red stars, posters and appeals and other attributes of the party's ideological monopoly are being removed from the facades of buildings.

Today many want to know the inner economic workings of the Communist Party. In short, they want to know how the membership fees, and incomes from party publications and so on are being spent. Iosef Gafrik, who works for the Communist Party press centre, told journalists that this year the party's revenues will be around 1.5 billion Czech korunas. Eighty percent of the sum results from membership fees. A huge reduction in the party apparatus is in the offing but the precise figures are not yet known, Gafrik said.

Gafrik also said that all the special shops previously catering to the party apparatus have been closed. The personal "Tatra-613" cars will now be only for the general secretary, secretaries and certain departments of the Central Committee. Some party leaders have voluntarily given up the cars. The average monthly wage of political workers of the Central Committee is 4,600 korunas.

Today a national meeting of leaders of plant trade union committees opened in Prague's Palace of Culture. Over two thousand people will discuss the political situation in the country and trade union actions in this situation. The opinion was expressed at the meeting that strike committees and civil forum branches enjoy more confidence with the working people "in the field" than the trade unions.

CSSR Premier Resigns, Deputy Premier Appointed

LD0712180689 Moscow TASS in English 1739 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Prague December 7 TASS—Ladislav Adamec tendered his resignation today from the post of the head of government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic at a meeting of representatives of the political parties and public organisations—members of the Czechoslovak National Front.

Later in the day, Adamec tendered his resignation to the president of Czechoslovakia.

President Gustav Husak accepted the resignation of Adamec and asked Deputy Premier Marian Calfa to take over as prime minister and carry on the negotiations on reforming the government and its composition.

CPCZ Plans Extraordinary Congress 20-21 Dec

LD0812120489 Moscow TASS in English 0954 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Prague December 8 TASS—An extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will be held from December 20 to 21, in accordance with a decision of the Presidium of the Communist Party Central Committee at a meeting on Thursday.

The Presidium expelled Milos Jakes and Miroslav Stepan from the party for gross political mistakes they made in trying to find a solution to the tense situation in society. The expulsions primarily related to the November 17 events in Prague.

In a written address, the Presidium requested pension-age Central Committee members to withdraw from the committee.

A special commission was formed to investigate abuse of position by some party functionaries.

Civic Forum, Democratic Forum in CSSR Viewed

LD0812134689 Moscow TASS in English 1335 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Prague December 8 TASS—By TASS correspondents Valeriy Rzhevskiy and Vitaliy Yaroshevskiy:

The awakened masses are now correcting long-established views, positions and sociopolitical structures. The Democratic Forum of Communists is actively functioning inside the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. At a Thursday meeting it announced that its membership consisted of about 50,000 Communist Party members and young and non-party people.

The forum's task is to promote the democratisation of interparty life and to restore the party's prestige in society. The programme of a parallel group within the party will be elaborated over the next few days. Representatives of the group told TASS to restore confidence in the party it is necessary to purge the party and its apparatus.

A national conference of trade union committee chairmen expressed their lack of confidence in the Central Trade Union Council and official trade union structures. It was noted that trade unions should stop dealing with production problems and start concentrating on protecting the interests of the working people. It was decided to review the trade union structure and hold a congress of delegates to be directly elected from factory trade union organisations.

The Civic Forum's crisis headquarters is working tirelessly. It is difficult to find out the identity of its members, the main advisers to new movement leader Vaclav Havel. The entrance to the office is vigilantly guarded by sturdy men.

At yesterday's news conference, Civic Forum representatives expressed their views on a new federal government. Havel held a news conference late at night. "Had I given interviews to all, I would have no time for the revolution," he said.

Free elections are the main aim of the revolution, Havel said. When asked about his place in the country's future political structure, he said: "I am a writer, not a politician. But I always put society's interests above personal interests. I would take up the presidency, if need be."

5-6 Dec Political Developments in CSSR Reported

PM0712153189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Kornilov dispatch: "In Search of Compromise"]

[Text] Prague—On 5 December Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, gave an address on Czechoslovak television's first program on his meeting with M.S. Gorbachev in Moscow. He informed viewers of the progress and results of the summit off Malta and of the statements made by five Warsaw Pact state leaders and the Soviet Government regarding reevaluation of the events of August 1968 and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] advocates full political rehabilitation for all those who were forced to leave the party because they disagreed with the bringing in of troops. "We stretch out our hand to them and call on them to cooperate in the interests of developing a democratic socialist society." The new CPCZ leadership shares the inspiring ideas of the 1968 "Prague Spring." K. Urbanek again stressed the particular complexity of the political period in the country, and said the CPCZ is urgently looking for a way of leading society out of a crisis that must be resolved by political means, in the form of dialogue, while observing principles of political culture and the necessary tolerance.

"It is expected that the CPCZ Congress will be held earlier than scheduled at the last Central Committee plenum and will take place before Christmas," Rudolf Hegenbart, CPCZ Central Committee department chief, told TASS correspondent V. Yaroshevskiy and myself the same morning.

This is an important piece of news. Undoubtedly, the date initially set was too far away, and the Communist Party was threatened with a real danger of lagging behind and being too late, since events are unfolding so rapidly.

Here is the chronicle for 5 December. A new Czech Republic Government has been announced comprising eight CPCZ members (including the prime minister) and nine representatives of other parties and non-party people. There are 12 new ministers altogether, and the majority of them are specialists.

Federal government representative L. Adamec held a series of urgent meetings with Socialist and People's Party leaders B. Kucera and J. Bartoncik, "Revival" club representatives Professor V. Menzel and C. Cisar, and a delegation from "Civic Forum" headed by V. Havel. The last meeting was particularly difficult. There was a discussion about what the Federal Government should look like. Meetings between the head of government and representatives of the public are continuing 6 December, and the search for compromise goes on.

The Communists' reaction to the course of events is also very keen. The Prague CPCZ City Committee plenum met for the fourth time in 2 weeks. At this plenum it was stated that the capital's party organizations do not support the CSSR Government in its new form and condemn the authorities' half-hearted actions to meet students' demands.

A preparatory committee at the well-known "Slusovic" agricultural cooperative announced that a new Peasant Party has been formed. This party is open to everyone and is provoking great interest. It is expected to be one of the country's major political parties.

"Civic Forum" submitted its draft of a new constitution for the country to the Federal Assembly for urgent nationwide discussion. The draft makes no reference to the nature of the social order in Czechoslovakia and points out that all forms of ownership are equally lawful and are equally recognized by the state.

A special parliamentary commission recommended that M. Jakes and M. Stepan forfeit their deputies' seats in the Federal Assembly, because they bear direct political responsibility for the events of 17 November and particularly for their political results. They had betrayed the voters' trust by actions unworthy of deputies.

CPCZ's Jakes Denies Responsibility for 17 Nov

PM0712114589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Statement by M. Jakes"]

[Text] Prague, 6 Dec—According to CTK, the former general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, M. Jakes, has requested that the agency circulate a personal statement by him. In this statement he says: I completely disclaim political responsibility for the events of 17 November 1989 in Prague, because a political decision had been made that forces for the protection of public order should not take action against the participants in the demonstration. Any other allegation is untrue and pursues political aims.

USSR-CSSR Cooperation Panel Meets in Prague

PM0712163389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Dec 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 5

[TASS report under general headline: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A working meeting of the cochairmen of the intergovernmental Soviet-Czechoslovak Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation has been held in Prague. The Soviet delegation was headed by V.V. Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Czechoslovak delegation by J. Obzina, CSSR deputy premier.

During the commission cochairmen's meeting a protocol on commodity turnover and payments between the USSR and the CSSR for 1990 was signed.

New CSSR News Agency Director Interviewed

PM0712114189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 89 p 3

[Interview with Ales Benda, new general director of the Czechoslovak Telegraph Agency, CTK, by special correspondent A. Kupriyanov in Prague under the general heading: "East Europe: Hard To Keep Up With the Changes"; date of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Prague— Ales Benda has been appointed new general director of the CZECHOSLOVAK TELEGRAPH AGENCY. He is 45 years old, a Communist, and used to work in the republic's youth press.

[Kupriyanov] How did the new general director's first day begin?

[Benda] An hour ago I met with representatives of the Civic Forum—the main force and main coordinating center of the events taking place in the country. I heard their opinion about the situation in Czechoslovakia and their political forecast.

[Kupriyanov] A communist and leader of a state organ has gone to the informal organizations himself. And so is this action by a statesman in the spirit of the revolutionary times?

[Benda] If you like, yes. We must all of us together elaborate general decisions in order to lead the country out of political crisis. Any organization which advocates Czechoslovakia's renewal and its pluralist future should be heeded. We need compromise.

[Kupriyanov] Otherwise?..

[Benda] I assess the country's present situation as very dangerous.

[Kupriyanov] At the demonstrations and meetings I did not see a single violation of law and order, a single clash, a single display of violence...

[Benda] Yes, that is so. The political culture of the student strike movement is quite high. But in my view the trouble lies elsewhere. Some leading comrades still do not understand why compromise and talks are needed, they do not understand or control the situation. Yet nothing can be achieved from a position of strength...

[Kupriyanov] You have in mind the likelihood of tanks on the streets and squares of Prague in 1989?

[Benda] No, I am sure that will never happen again. In my opinion the danger lies in the eruption of unnecessary emotions.. Nor do I rule out provocation causing an explosion of anger. That could lead to undesirable excesses.

[Kupriyanov] On what, then, are your hope and confidence based?

[Benda] On the fact that there are sane people both among the Communists and in the Civic Forum.

Hungary's Karpaty Sees 20-25 Percent Army Cuts

PM0712165589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Dec 89 First Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Press Service report under the general heading: "Socialist Countries: 'Stormy Process of Renewal'": "Hungary: 'Reform in the Army'"]

[Text] TASS reported that Hungarian Defense Minister Colonel General F. Karpaty dwelt on questions of reform in the Hungarian Armed Forces at a press conference in Budapest. Its implementation, the minister pointed out, is founded on the new national security policy and is in line with the Warsaw Pact countries' previously avowed defensive doctrine. Instead of the 9% reduction in the numerical strength of the Hungarian People's Army announced this January, it is intended to cut it by 20-25% over 2 years. Colonel General F. Karpaty announced that the cuts affect offensive weapons above all—tanks, missiles, and, to some extent, combat aircraft.

In accordance with the new defensive doctrine, the Hungarian Government has decided to reduce the length of service for enlisted ranks and NCO personnel within the Hungarian People's Army. As of 1991 the length of service will be cut from 18 to 12 months.

The Hungarian defense minister also announced that the former Hungarian People's Army Main Political Administration has been eliminated in accordance with a resolution adopted by the parliament regarding the cessation of party organizations' activity in places of work. The post of educative officer is being introduced to replace political section officers within the troops.

Poland Opposes Change in German 'Status Quo'

PM0712114789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Poland's Stance"]

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Dec—The Polish president and government and all of the country's political and social forces believe that any discussion of the future of Germany must primarily consider guarantees of the security of neighboring states and the whole of Europe, a statement by the Polish president's press spokesman stressed.

Poland cannot be indifferent to intentions to unify the two German states, the document said. It has the historical, moral, and political right to set out its position on a problem of such importance to the future of Poland and all Europe. Any attempt to change the status quo on the German question is regarded extremely seriously by Poland.

The statement pointed out that mutual responsibility for the German problem rests with the four great powers. But it is also the common concern of all European states, including those belonging to the Warsaw Pact, NATO, CEMA, and the EEC.

Polish Defense Minister Concludes Visit

Visits Katyn Memorial

LD0712225289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1436 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Minsk, 7 Dec (TASS)—Army General Florian Siwicki, member of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Politburo and national defense minister of the Polish People's Republic, who has been in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of Army General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the

CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, today visited the "Katyn" memorial complex, where he laid flowers.

He had a meeting with Mikhail Kovalev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

On the same day the Polish national defense minister left the USSR.

Visit Summarized

PM0712144989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Dec 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS and unattributed reports under general headline: "Tour of Country"]

[Text] L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received Army General F. Siwicki, member of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Politburo and Polish national defense minister, who is paying an official visit to the Soviet Union. They had a warm and friendly conversation during which they discussed a number of questions of Soviet-Polish cooperation.

Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister, took part in the conversation.

On the same day Army General F. Siwicki, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Polish national defense minister, visited the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy. He was familiarized with its educational and material base and the organization of the training process and met with professors and teachers, and with Polish students studying at the academy. Army General F. Siwicki was accompanied by Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister.

On the same day Army General F. Siwicki visited Zvezdnyy Gorodok, where he was familiarized with the Yu.A. Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Center.

Army General F. Siwicki, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Polish national defense minister, who is paying an official visit to the Soviet Union, left Moscow 6 December on a tour of the country.

The guest and his entourage were seen off at the airport by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, USSR deputy defense minister; and other officials.

The sendoff party included J. Smolinski, Polish charge d'affaires in the USSR.

Army General F. Siwicki was accompanied on his tour of the country by Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister.

The Polish and Soviet state flags were hoisted at the airport. An honor guard was formed on the airfield and the two countries' national anthems were played.

Walesa Briefs Jaruzelski on His Foreign Tour

PM0712142189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In Atmosphere of Friendship"]

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Dec—Polish President W. Jaruzelski has met with L. Walesa, chairman of the "Solidarity" trade union, who informed him about the progress and results of his visit to Britain, and also about the trip to Canada, the United States, and Venezuela which took place earlier.

The implementation of the process of democratic changes in an atmosphere of accord and dialogue among all political and social forces met with wide recognition in the world and won respect for the Polish people and state, W. Jaruzelski and L. Walesa jointly stressed. The fund of sympathy and support for Poland and the Poles must be fully utilized. The meeting's participants stated their support for the government's actions helping to strengthen Poland's economic and political positions in Europe and throughout the world.

Sakharov Compares E. Europe, Soviet Perestroyka

AU0712111889 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 4 Dec 89 p 6

[Interview with Professor Andrey Sakharov by Leon Bojko at the Polish Embassy in Moscow: "If Poland Succeeded, Why Should We Not Succeed?"; date of interview not given]

[Text] [Bojko] Professor Sakharov, how do you feel here, and what are your impressions?

[Sakharov] Until recently it would have been unthinkable to expect that a numerous group of independent intelligentsia could have been invited to the embassy of a socialist country, let alone meet that country's premier. I feel at home here, and among friends. For me, this meeting is a sign of a new epoch that has dawned in Eastern Europe.

[Bojko] Did you expect to see such developments a year ago?

[Sakharov] I try not to make predictions, because very often they do not come true. When we were living in Gorki I believed that we would never get out of there. However, as concerns Poland, I put a lot of my faith in Poland, and I believed that Poland would show what it was capable of. For us your country then was like a different, beautiful, unattainable planet.

[Bojko] On what do you base your hopes for the future of your country?

[Sakharov] We have very good young people. The decades of trying to blunt our healthy common sense, and the teaching of conformity and submissiveness did not produce their desired results. Our young people behave like all other young people throughout the world. We lived through a great wave of strikes this summer, and the miners in Vorkuta are still fighting bravely for their rights. The workers are becoming more and more active. To a certain degree this is reminiscent of the creation of "Solidarity" in Poland, although admittedly the differences in conditions are so great that one cannot expect a repetition of the Polish experience.

[Bojko] We observe with growing respect the activity of the deputies of the Supreme Soviet.

[Sakharov] Here we have an example where very interesting and positive changes have taken place. The authority of the reforming wing is growing quite visibly, and the dangers that were expressed after the election of the Supreme Soviet at the Congress of USSR Peoples' Deputies have not materialized. We have passed a good and democratic electoral law, and we have affirmed the right of economic autonomy for the Baltic Republics. However, we must not have any illusions, the conservative forces are very powerful. The legislation on the press has recently been amended to our disadvantage.

[Bojko] We are following the development of the situation in the Soviet Union with both hope and fear. Which of these emotions do you think is more justified?

[Sakharov] I have said that I am unwilling to make predictions. We are now witnessing a definite offensive of the conservative forces, and the mood of society is worsening, mainly because of the difficult economic situation. Nevertheless, we have lived through several cycles of positive and negative moods.

[Bojko] "The end of perestroyka" has been announced four times now....

[Sakharov] More like six times. This is a great historical process, and such cycles will repeat themselves many times. It is far too early to lose heart. In Poland you have succeeded in doing so much, and therefore why should we not succeed as well?

[Bojko] Professor, thank you for the interview and please accept my regards and convey my deepest regards to your wife, Yelena Bonner.

Yugoslav Debate on Political Pluralism Viewed

PM0812105589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Ye. Fadeyev report: "Variants of Pluralism"]

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Dec—Political pluralism is a reality today in the world of socialism, the well-known Yugoslav journalist Zoran Sekulic said. This topic, which just yesterday was an awkward one, is now part of reality not just for a few socialist countries; in some places it even determines the existing political system.

And what place does Yugoslavia occupy in this plan?

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Social Research Center issued a publication called "Yugoslav Scientists on Political Pluralism." It proposes for the first time a hypothetical list of five possible versions of political pluralism in the SFRY.

Scientists' opinions in the research published are divided. For example, Doctor Radoslav Ratkovic, a political scientist, calls the a priori implementation of a multiparty system and democracy "neurotic." So, he advocates expanding the scope for the activity of various public associations and organizations based on reducing the state's role. Zoran Dzhindzhich [name as transliterated], a Belgrade sociologist, believes that political pluralism is the only way to overcome today's crisis in Yugoslavia, but it requires fundamentally reforming the country's sociopolitical system. In this scholar's opinion, Yugoslav society is still far from real pluralism, although the results achieved in recent decades should not be diminished.

Opinions are also encountered in society and the party and among scientists that the option of the multiparty system would be more acceptable for the SFRY.

In a word, before the forthcoming 14th (Extraordinary) LCY Congress, the subject of pluralism is very urgent. Questions of transforming the party—and the LCY leadership recognizes unanimously that political pluralism is a reality today—will occupy a conspicuous place at the Yugoslav Communists' forum.

"LCY members demand the party's most rapid renewal," Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, says, "and they particularly insist on expanding democracy both within the League of Communists itself and throughout Yugoslav society."

West Europe

Cocom Restrictions Hamper French Technical Ties

LD0512172989 Moscow TASS in English 1428 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—By TASS correspondent Georgy Meizerov:

Scientific and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and France covers a majority of fields of fundamental and applied research and practically all key branches of the economy.

This cooperation develops most actively in space research, the nuclear power industry, chemistry, medicine, the oil and gas industries, and the agro-industrial sector, according to the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology.

However, experience shows that French business circles reluctantly agree to develop scientific and technological contacts if they do not lead to quick economic results.

This is why a mutual agreement was reached to concentrate scientific and technical cooperation on problem areas and directions that are most important to the Soviet Union and France.

This cooperation should be based on the science-technology-production-marketing principle. The joint development and manufacture of superconductive magnets for the acceleration and accumulation facility at Protvino (Moscow Region), technology and equipment for the deep processing of oil and gas, and test systems based on the radioimmune and non-radioactive types of microanalysis are already under way.

The package of a high definition television system is being mastered jointly. New-generation nuclear power stations of enhanced safety, automated training facilities for nuclear power station personnel, and equipment diagnosing systems are being designed.

Soviet and French specialists engage in joint research aimed at creating recombinant proteins, bioregulators, new bilogically active substances, and polymeric carriers for molecular biochemistry. The results of the research are being developed for commerical mastering.

The current defence industry conversion in the Soviet Union becomes an important factor in the further development of the Soviet Union's contacts with France in science and technology.

It creates conditions for utilising a powerful and practically still unused potential for cooperation purposes. But a constructive approach to it by French business circles is necessary to implement it in joint projects.

The USSR State Committee for Science and Technology believes that Soviet-French scientific and technical contacts could develop more actively if restrictions imposed by the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM) and by French national legislation are lifted.

UK Leaders Respond Slowly to E. Europe Changes

PM0512135789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[Major V. Makey article under the rubric "Relevant Notes": "'Sticks' Set Example"]

[Excerpts] There was a curious report recently from the British town of Tewkesbury in the county of Gloucestershire. The local council decided to drop its plans to construct an underground shelter against the event of a nuclear war. As the city authorities stated, the sudden changes taking place in the socialist countries made the prospect of a nuclear conflict between the Warsaw Pact organization and NATO improbable. So they do not intend to carry out the Home Office decision about constructing such facilities. [Passage omitted]

Meanwhile in official London circles the reaction to the rapid changes in East Europe is very unusual. While approving them in principle, Prime Minister M. Thatcher, for example, believes at the same time that they are "fraught with great danger." The voice of Secretary of State for Defense T. King is in unison with the government head. The statements are being backed up by practical deeds. The Ministry of Defense has planned jointly with the Treasury an annual increase of 1 billion pounds in the military budget in the next 3 years. According to THE SUNDAY TIMES, as if in response to the political changes in East Europe, the country's leadership is studying the possibility of changes to its long-term military strategy in an atmosphere of the strictest secrecy. In particular, the question of channeling additional resources into developing the Navy is being examined. But official London is not admitting the slightest possibility of reducing its military programs. The prime minister's circle believes that the very idea is almost seditious. And moreover, matters have even reached the point of reproaches aimed at the "senior partner." In the words of THE TIMES, London was extremely surprised not so much by the U.S. Defense Department's statement about the planned cut in the military budget as by the statement that these plans are connected with the transformations in the socialist countries.

Evidently, relapses into the old "bunker thinking" continue to plague certain representatives of top British circles. Ordinary Britons, it turns out, are able to realize much more rapidly the logic in the development of the present processes in Europe and to determine their attitude to them.

FRG Antifascists Rap Kohl Unification Plan

LD0512104189 Moscow TASS in English 0853 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn December 5 TASS—A close look at West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's plan for a German settlement reveals that it is a mere attempt to absorb the German Democratic Republic, according to a statement issued by the Secretariat of the Union of West German Anti-Fascists on Monday.

Most nationalists and revanchists hailed the idea of a West German incorporation of another German state into the capitalist system, it said.

The right-wing forces welcome this idea as an embodiment of their cold-war dreams of a Germany within its 1937 borders.

Chancellor Kohl's refusal to accept the finality of Poland's western border whips up illusions about a possible change in the status quo in Europe, the document said.

Only a co-habitation and cooperation of states with different social systems can provide the groundwork for a "Common European Home" which will accommodate West Germany's Eastern neighbours, including the German Democratic Republic.

Calls for the German reunification are at odds with the concept of a Common European Home.

The concept of a Common European Home presupposes that citizens of the other German state enjoy freedom of choice, the document said.

Only peaceful, good-neighbourly relations between East and West Germany can show the road to the future, said West German anti-fascists denouncing attempts to absorb or blackmail the GDR.

Finnish Minister Leads Delegation to USSR

PM0612110789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Guests from Finland"]

[Text] A delegation of the leadership of Finland's Swedish People's Party led by its chairman and Finnish education minister, C. Taxell, was in the Soviet Union on 26-29 November at the invitation of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation.

The delegation was received in the CPSU Central Committee International Department and the USSR Foreign Ministry and had meetings and conversations in academic institutes and the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation's Public Commission for Humanitarian Issues and Human Rights.

C. Taxell gave a lecture at the USSR Foreign Ministry Moscow State Institute of International Relations entitled "The Nordic Countries' Role in the All-European Process."

Turkish President on Economy, USSR Ties

PM0112171589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Turkish President Turgut Ozal by TASS correspondent Ya. Ali-Zade in Ankara 30 November: "From Positions of Good-Neighborliness"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Ankara, 30 Nov—Turkish President Turgut Ozal received TASS correspondent Ya. Ali-Zade and answered a number of questions. They concerned, in particular, the domestic political situation in Turkey and also the state of and prospects for Turkish-Soviet cooperation.

Question: Mr Ozal, could you say a few words about the current situation in Turkey and the prospects for its development in the immediate future?

Answer: From both the political and economic viewpoints Turkey has reached a level of which we could not have even dreamed a few years ago.

The fact that in 1979 economic crisis, social unrest, and anarchy brought Turkey to the edge of the abyss is still fresh in our memory. After the military intervention 12 September 1980, which put an end to this dangerous sequence of events, our country once again returned to a parliamentary democratic system, holding a general election. As is well known, that election took place in 1983. Today all democratic institutions have once again assumed their functions and important and substantial steps have been taken toward implanting democracy.

It must be said that at the time Turkey was an agrarian country with an inward-looking economy, geared mainly to imports. Since then, especially since 1983, it has effected profound transformations in its national economy in a short time owing to its crucial orientation toward a free market. As a result of this policy Turkey's exports have increased by a factor of 6 in the last 10 years and reached $11.6 billion last year. The fact that industrial output now comprises 80 percent of our exports—moreover the lion's share goes to Western countries—attests to the quality and competitiveness of Turkish commodities on the international market and demonstrates the level of our country's industrial development. In the last fiscal year Turkey had a positive balance for current payments of $1.5 billion.

Of late Turkey has been the most rapidly developing country in the OECD. Moreover, the largest world increase in creditworthiness has been recorded in our country. All this attests to the current level of Turkish development and to the considerable distance it has come in the last decade.

I am convinced that this development trend will also continue. According to forecasts, by 1992 our exports will reach $20 billion. By that time, income from tourism is expected to have risen from $2.5 billion to $4 billion. Electricity production, which totaled 45 kilowatt-hours in 1987, will reach 75 kilowatt-hours. Some 1600 km of highways will have been constructed and another 600,000 apartments commissioned. With the implementation of a considerable proportion of the large-scale program for the assimilation and development of southeast Anatolia, the volume of agricultural production in Turkey will double by the end of the century.

I sincerely believe that Turkey will be one of the developed countries of the world at the beginning of the 21st century.

Turkey determined its course in the international arena on the basis of the behests of our republic's founder and our leader—Ataturk. In accordance with his principle of "peace in the country, peace throughout the world" our country will continue to make efforts to develop good relations and peaceful cooperation with all countries, in particular with our neighbors.

As is well known, in 1987 Turkey asked to be accepted as a full member of the European Community, of which it is already an associate member. I am convinced that Turkey will, as a European country, take its seat in the EEC as in other fundamental Western organizations.

The current easing of the East-West political climate is giving rise to winds of change throughout the world and above all in Europe. Under these conditions Turkey is better placed than ever before to independently determine its place in the world, its future, and its destiny.

Question: In your speech at the swearing-in ceremony in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, you broached the question of three freedoms. What are you thinking of doing to defend and exercise these freedoms, in other words to fully implement democracy?

Answer: In my speeches I previously stressed the significance of and need for freedom of thought, freedom of conscience, and freedom of enterprise. These three freedoms form the foundation of democracy and ensure the country's economic development. We are trying to consolidate them and eliminate the barriers in their way. If necessary, the requisite changes will be made to the constitution and laws.

Today Turkey has determined its path and intends to resolutely advance. Society in our country is being democratized with the participation of all democratic institutions. Respect for the three basic freedoms is equally the duty of every citizen and all constitutional bodies. I believe that the republic's future governments will treat this question with understanding. As president of Turkey I will keep an attentive eye on all our government's efforts and actions in this sphere and support them with all my efforts.

Question: Mr President, what is your opinion of the policy of perestroyka and glasnost being implemented in the Soviet Union?

Answer: Turkey is watching the policy of perestroyka and glasnost in the Soviet Union closely. We perceive with satisfaction the positive effect which this policy is having at present on the Soviet Union and the countries of East Europe.

We also assess perestroyka from the viewpoint of the way in which it is promoting our bilateral relations and peace-keeping in the region, in Europe, and throughout the world. We believe that at this stage of East-West rapprochement the winds of perestroyka and glasnost, which, as we can see, have no sense of borders, will also even reach those countries which lag behind the 20th century and resist the passage of time.

Turkey is a country which can best appreciate the phenomena of perestroyka in the USSR and understand the problems arising in this process. The point is that our country has in many respects achieved the sought-after results by following the line of a market economy based on freedom of enterprise. The Soviet Union is now in the throes of the initial stage of a restructuring somewhat like Turkish restructuring but effected under its own specific conditions. Naturally, the problems facing the USSR are more complex owing to its vast size and also because the state played a greater role in the Soviet economy than was the case in Turkey. I think that the path we have covered in combating bureaucracy will be more difficult in the Soviet Union for the same reasons.

Our experience has clearly shown that political success depends on consistency and the avoidance of zigzags in the implementation of policy.

Question: What, in your view, are the prospects for Soviet-Turkish relations, which are developing rapidly?

Answer: The development of Turkish-Soviet relations has proceeded over the last few years at a satisfying level. We are glad of that. Owing to joint efforts and our countries' mutual political will, a number of problems in bilateral relations have been ironed out. Thus, for instance, last year the question of the demarcation line between flight information regions over the Black Sea, which had remained unresolved for 17 years, was settled and work was completed on a consular convention which we had been unable to sign for 20 years previously.

The policy of perestroyka and glasnost in the Soviet Union, along with the easing in the political climate in East-West relations as a whole are, of course, additional factors which exert a favorable effect on Turkish-Soviet relations.

Pleasing changes are taking place in the sphere of our economic ties with the Soviet Union, as in the sphere of political relations, founded on the principle of mutual advantage. For instance, the volume of trade between our two countries, which totaled $476 million 2 years ago, rose to $714 million last year. This year this figure is expected to reach $1 billion. We note with satisfaction Soviet representatives' statements to the effect that the volume of our trade may double or treble in the next 2-3 years.

As is well known, the natural gas which we import from the Soviet Union has imparted a new and long-term quality to our trading relations. Along with this, our border provinces and the relevant Soviet republics will obtain an opportunity to engage in mutual trade—following the completion of ratification work on an agreement on cross-border and coastal trade which was signed this July.

Credit of $300 million was granted this year for the first time with a view to helping meet the demand for consumer goods in the USSR. Half of this sum, which is totally set aside for the procurement of consumer goods in Turkey, has already been utilized. Moreover, an accord has been secured granting the Soviet Union another credit of $350 million for Turkish firms to construct light and food industry facilities in the USSR. Turkey's construction firms are operating vigorously on the Soviet market and the value of the facilities in whose construction they are involved totals $304 million today. I hope that this first step will be followed by other steps and that there will be new opportunities for our construction companies for business cooperation with the USSR.

I want to say the following in conclusion. Our relations with the Soviet Union both in the political and trade and economic spheres are built on a firm foundation based on mutual interest. I am convinced that relations between our two neighboring countries will reach a level of even closer cooperation in the future.

Question: Mr Ozal, what is your opinion of the impending summit meeting off Malta between M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush?

Answer: This is the first meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and George Bush since the latter became U.S. president and it affects the interests not only of the two powers but also the whole world. I will also add that the significance of this summit meeting is increasing as a result of the rapid development of events on the European continent, brought to life by the democratization and perestroyka phenomena in the Soviet Union and the countries of East Europe. Obviously, opinions will be exchanged at the meeting on questions linked with the progress of the changes in the USSR and East Europe and also on the disarmament problem. In this connection I would like to wish the leaders of the two powers success in attaining mutual understanding and consensus.

Turkey is observing very attentively the processes taking place in the Soviet Union and East Europe. It perceives these processes with satisfaction and is convinced that the West must support them. Proceeding on this premise, we are doing everything in our power to develop economic and trading ties with the Soviet Union and the countries of East Europe.

Let me take this opportunity to convey to the Soviet people and their leader Mr Gorbachev my wishes for their success in achieving the planned goals and steady progress along the path of perestroyka.

General Varennikov Departs for Turkey 3 Dec

PM0712121389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Dec 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Under an accord Army General V.I. Varennikov, commander in chief of the Ground Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, left for an official visit to Turkey on 3 December.

The sendoff party included V. Vural, Turkish ambassador to the USSR; H. Akinci, counselor at the Turkish Embassy in the USSR; Colonel B. Balanli, air force attache at the Turkish Embassy in the USSR; Lieutenant Colonel S. Berk, military attache at the Turkish Embassy in the USSR; and Captain 3d Class K. Gungor, naval attache at the Turkish Embassy in the USSR.

Holds Military Talks

LD0812053489 Moscow TASS in English 1838 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Istanbul December 7 TASS—Commander-in-Chief of Soviet Ground Forces General Varennikov, currently on an official visit to Turkey, met on Thursday with Turkish Defense Minister Safa Giray.

He also had talks with Chief of Staff General N. Torumtay and Commander of the Turkish Ground Forces General D. Gures.

During the talks, both sides expressed the interest in continuing and developing contacts in the military field between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Turkish Republic.

Military Ties With Turkey Examined

TA0612090689 Moscow in Turkish to Turkey 1400 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Mikhail Barishev commentary]

[Text] General Valentin Varennikov, commander in chief of the Soviet Ground Forces, is currently visiting Turkey. During this visit, he will meet with Turkish Armed Forces commanders, visit tank and infantry squadrons and military schools, and learn about the daily life of the Turkish Army.

This visit is a continuation of the mutual visits paid by the military commanders of our two countries this year. General Yazgan, deputy chief of the Turkish General Staff, visited the Soviet Union last May. A while later, Soviet Navy commander Admiral Makarov visited Turkey. Also, warships paid mutual courtesy visits, and other military contacts were held this year.

All this shows that military relations between our countries have gained continuity. This situation characterizes the current level of Soviet-Turkish relations and the general situation in Europe.

An atmosphere of security is gaining ground in Europe these days as a result of joint efforts. The disarmament processes continue. The understanding that the future of Europe lies in cooperation and not in polarization is spreading. The meeting of the generals is a sign of improving conditions, especially if these generals come not only from two states but from two different military alliances.

There are various issues the generals might discuss, such as the comparison of their military doctrines, reduction in armed forces, and the enhancing of security along the border. Personal contacts established at the end of long years of estrangement are very important for restoring trust and changing old views.

During the talks, great importance is being attached to the establishment of the role the military will play in the improvement of Soviet-Turkish relations. At the end of his Moscow visit, Gen Yazgan told our correspondent that such contacts enable the Turkish and Soviet military to get to know each other better, and also help the mutual understanding between Turkey and the Soviet Union grow.

We believe that the visit by the Soviet Ground Forces commander to Turkey is a new step taken in the same direction.

Soviet-Turkish Bilateral Trade Talks Begin

LD0612163489 Moscow TASS in English 0600 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Ankara December 5 [date as received] TASS—A Soviet Government delegation, on a visit in Turkey, today started official talks with Turkish officials on a whole range of issues concerning trade and economic cooperation between the two countries.

The Soviet delegation is led by First Deputy Prime Minister Lev Voronin.

The Turkish delegation at the negotiations is led by Finance and Customs Minister Ekrem Pakdemirli.

It was pointed out during today's meeting that the further extension and deepening of bilateral ties, which have been developing in a fast and favourable way, is an insistent requirement of the times.

The sides expressed their desire to considerably increase trade turnover between the Soviet Union and Turkey in the next few years and emphasised the need for stronger bilateral contacts and for regular exchanges of delegations.

Trade Protocol Signed

LD0712103389 Moscow TASS in English 1007 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Ankara December 7 TASS—A Soviet Government delegation led by Soviet First Vice Premier L. Voronin signed on Wednesday a protocol here providing for a considerable increase in bilateral goods turnover. The delegation's eight-day visit to this country, at the invitation of the Turkish Government, will end today.

The delegation head was received by President Turgut Ozal, Prime Minister Yildirim Akbulut, met Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz, had talks with Finance and Customs Minister Ekrem Pakdemirli, and met heads of some other ministries and Turkish businessmen.

The protocol was signed as a result of talks between Voronin and Pakdermirli, who is also co-chairman of the mixed inter-government Soviet-Turkish Commission on Economic Development.

The implementation of the protocol will enble the sides to boost the present volume of trade, already topping one billion U.S. dollars. It will expand cooperation in the construction of new and retooling of operating industrial and social projects. Impressive headway is planned in organising the joint production of some types of products important for both countries.

The visit and talks were held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, reflecting growing cooperation and good-neighbourly relations between the USSR and Turkey.

Latin America & Caribbean

Soviet-Guatemalan Talks End in Guatemala City

LD0212134589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2301 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Managua, 2 Dec (TASS)—Soviet-Guatemalan consultations have taken place in the Guatemalan capital on issues concerning the situation in Central America. Ya.A. Burlyay, special representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry, was received by A. Rivera, minister of foreign affairs of Guatemala. During the consultations, the sides spoke in favor of a peaceful political settlement to the situation in Central America and noted the need for strict observance of all the agreements signed by the presidents of the countries of the region.

Delegation Received by Honduran President

PM0412151789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting With President"]

[Text] Panama, 2 Dec—President Jose Azcona Hoyo of Honduras has received a delegation of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Latin American Peoples headed by its chairman, K.A. Khachaturov, which is currently visiting this Central American country. During the meeting the Honduran leader inquired about the processes under way in the USSR. He was briefed on the progress of Soviet society's perestroyka and democratization. Topical international issues, in particular issues pertaining to a political settlement in Central America, were also touched upon in the course of the conversation.

Soviet Success at Lima Trade Fair Cited

PM0712100989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Zagorskiy dispatch from the 18th International Pacific Trade Fair: "What Is 'Selling' on the Local Market?"]

[Excerpt] Lima, 29 Nov—[Passage omitted] Making use of the fact that the trade fair was coming to a close and its outcome was largely clear, I put this question to A.I. Balabay, the director of our pavilion.

"If we are talking about the results from a commercial point of view," he said, "then we are satisfied. Virtually all the exhibits in the Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga [International Book] section and almost all the exhibits in the Avtoeksport [export and import of motor vehicles, bicycles, and spare parts] section and measuring equipment from the Mashpriborintorg [export and import of measuring and communications instrumentation] section have been sold.

"As well as selling exhibits," my interlocutor continued, "we have concluded some major contracts. Avtoeksport has signed a contract for 300,000 dollars with the Panamanian firm Colonial Motors. We have also concluded a contract with a Peruvian company to supply metalworking machine tools for the sum of $60,000, as well as a contract through Energomasheksport [export of thermal and hydroelectric power station equipment, welding and electrothermal equipment, rolling stock, and power machinery] for $204,000 to supply gas generators here. Soyuzkarta [export and import of maps] is holding talks on setting up an operation to photograph the territory of Peru.

"It cannot be ruled out that we will succeed in selling Peru technology perfected in Tajikistan for the production of cotton-seed oil, which is unknown here at present; talks are in progress on this matter." [passage omitted]

Congress of People's Deputies

Deputies Call for Precongress Strike

LD0712153189 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] The appeal by six peoples deputies of the USSR to Soviet working people to hold a warning 2-hour strike on the eve of the Second Session of the Congress does not mean confrontation with the national leadership. One of the six, Dr Andrey Sakharov, has told as much to the independent news agency INTERFAX. The appeal, he added, was to help the leadership out of the present complex situation. A strike could obtain the inclusion in the agenda of the congress, to open next Tuesday, of several important bills. They concern the status of the country's enterprises, the ownership of land and forms of property, and also the fate of Article Six of the constitution. The Article provides for the leadling role in society of the Communist Party. The six deputies oppose the decision by national parliament to try and avoid strikes in autumn and winter.

The appeal has surprised many since work on the bills is proceeding as planned. The bills on property and land have been submitted to nationwide discussion and many leading parliamentarians agree that the role of the party will be defined as a new constitution is drafted. Besides, they argue, the party is now the only consolidating force in society.

Yakovlev Chairs Nonaggression Pact Meeting

LD0712200589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Dec 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] On 6 December, under Comrade Yakovlev's chairmanship, a meeting took place of the commission for the political and legal assessment of the 1939 Soviet-German nonaggression treaty.

Questions were discussed of submitting to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies the commission's report on work done, including the preparation of the appropriate documents.

Supreme Soviet Session

Deputies Comment on Draft Press Law

90US0256A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 48, 2-8 Dec 89 pp 1-3

[Excerpts from stenographic record of the discussion of the Law on the Press and Other Mass Media in the USSR Supreme Soviet: "What Is the Law on the Press To Be Like?"]

[Text] Never before has the process of developing new laws captivated us as it does at present. Whether private property is to be or not to be, what rights and responsibilities people's deputies should have, should the true masters of the land manage it—all of this is being discussed in front of the TV cameras; it will determine the development of our society in the immediate future, having assumed the form of laws.

The draft Law on the Press, whose discussion finally began on 24 November, fits quite organically in this array. Like the drafts of other key laws, it has provoked a sharp discussion among the deputies.

We are publishing excerpts from the official stenographic record of the discussion of the draft Law on the Press and Other Mass Media.

G.Kh. Shakhnazarov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, assistant to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, city of Moscow:

This is not an ordinary, run-of-the-mill legislative act; it belongs among those which are customarily referred to as constitutional, or organic, laws.

The first block of the law embraces the issues of setting up the mass media. It is important in principle that a registration procedure which, incidentally, is used in 90 percent of the countries of the world rather than a licensing procedure is introduced.

Freedom of the press, the absence of censorship, an opportunity to set up mass media without hindrance—all of this needs to be balanced accordingly.

Article 5 enumerates the abuses of the freedom of the press prohibited by the law. This list covers what is the most important and necessary. A mechanism ensuring compliance with these requirements also belongs here.

With regard to procedures for confirming the editor in chief as the main person responsible for the operation of the mass media, an opportunity is envisaged for his appointment by the founding entity or election by the collective in keeping with the editorial charter which is also endorsed by the founding entity. In the event of disagreements between the editor and a majority of the members of the editorial board the issue is to be resolved by the founding entity. This is the provision of Article 16.

A number of articles aimed at protecting the honor and dignity of people from the consequences of poor-quality, unverified, or altogether malicious, distorted information belongs among the important elements of the draft law.

The deputies must have noticed that virtually the only direct application norm is outlined in Article 44, which specifies that indemnities for the moral damage inflicted by false information dishonoring and defaming citizens may come up to R50,000.

Finally, I will invite your attention to Article 43, which cautions against interfering with the mass media and provides for quite serious penalties for attempts at this.

I will now come back to Article 6, which has caused a particularly stormy debate. The issue is whether under our conditions the ownership of the mass media by private individuals may be allowed. The views are mixed, and this accounts for the existence of the two drafts handed out to you. In one of them, the right to set up mass media is given to individual citizens, and in the other only to the associations of citizens.

The first version of the draft which I think was submitted 2 weeks ago was discussed at a joint meeting of the three committees. At that point, we offered not to embark on the first reading right away but to collect remarks on an informal basis so as to avoid the loss of time later at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The remarks submitted were registered in an informal manner with the participation of the comrades who have done the main work on the drafts. Subsequently, we handed the renewed document over for its publication and distribution to the deputies. Unfortunately, having received the new version I did not find in it the amended wording of Article 6. This explains why one more version was additionally printed yesterday and handed out to the deputies which, as you can see, does not have the signatures of chairmen. That is, it was submitted as an additional version which we must consider today.

B.N. Nikolskiy, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

The issue of controlling information is essentially the issue of power. If an individual, any member of a society does not have sufficiently complete information or has distorted information it is very easy to make him travel the false path wholeheartedly—I stress, wholeheartedly. In this case, it is very easy to manipulate his consciousness, make him approve what he would never approve or, just the opposite, censure what he would never condemn if he had complete information. Any number of such examples may be found in our past.

Comrades, I would have compiled my entire characterization of the Law on the Press using such, one might say, optimistic notes had it not been for the appearance yesterday of the new wording in the draft law. It is not my intention to stoke the passions concerning them. I will only say that this is quite a sad precedent because the new wordings were introduced without the knowledge of our committee. They were not discussed in our committee; moreover, I will say that they have been introduced in this manner for the very reason that it was known: They will run into resistance from our committee.

Furthermore, the second amended wording is particularly important. Despite being very inconspicuous, and at first sight very innocuous, it involves the inadmissibility of interference with the mass media referred to in Article 43. The following amendment is proposed: "Interference with the operation of the mass media is inadmissible." This is what was set forth in the main draft as well. Furthermore, "a demand made on the mass media by officials of the state organs and public organizations which are not its founding entities or publishers to clear materials and information in advance..., as well as a ban on the dissemination of materials and information or individual parts of them entails the communication..." and so forth. These several words have appeared here: "which are not its founding entities or publishers." In essence, this amendment brings to naught the entire Law on the Press and the freedom of the press.

N.V. Fedorov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

It is known that work on the draft law continued through the time of recess, and by September one more draft law was ready which was once again cleared at the top level. This was reported in the mass media. After that we were invited to the Old Square. [venue of Central Committee meetings] I may say that the latest version of the draft law with the new wording introduced reflects the ideas set forth by People's Deputy Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev in the course of a very detailed and unobtrusive conversation which lasted more than 3 hours and was very interesting for us. We should say that the new wordings introduced are a new version of the draft law, a new concept of the draft law.

The Decree on the Press was one of the first decrees of the Soviet authorities. For some reason, nobody has mentioned this today. It was laid down there that the Soviet authorities promise to discontinue all administrative influence on the press as soon as the new order asserts itself, and that complete freedom will be given to it within the confines of responsibility to the courts in keeping with the broadest and most progressive law in this regard.

A.S. Yezhelev, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

The first question: Is our society mature enough for a democratic institution such as the freedom of the press which is proclaimed by the USSR Constitution? Actually, this is not my question. It follows from the essence of the revision of Article 6 "The Right to Establishment" and amendments made in it in the new version of the draft law disseminated yesterday which they tried to pass off as a document of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committees on Legislation, Rule of Law, and Legal Order and on Glasnost, Rights, and Petitions of Citizens. In our own version of the draft adopted by the two committees, not only associations, labor collectives, and creative arts unions enjoy the right to set up mass media, but also citizens, as was already noted. In the so-called reworded version, citizens as the subjects of this right have already disappeared.

I do not think the reworded version of the draft law was submitted to the Supreme Soviet the right way. By voting it down today, we will thus assert the right of the Supreme Soviet to create law exactly in the parliamentary manner, without attempts to interfere with this behind the scenes.

Ye.D. Pokhitaylo, first secretary of the Omsk Oblast Party Committee:

First of all, concerning Article 6. Perhaps, there should be no objections to it, except with regard to granting the right to establishment to individual citizens. There are serious doubts in this regard. In addition to the arguments stated by the previous comrades, I will state yet another one. It is no secret that alarm has been mounting recently in our society, and not without justification, concerning the emerging polarization of incomes of the populace. Granting individual citizens—that is, private persons—the right to establish mass media will bring about the reinforcement of this trend.

L.I. Batynskaya, correspondent of the newspaper IZVESTIYA in Krasnoyarsk Kray and the Tuva ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], city of Krasnoyarsk, and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

Officially, nobody has ever given Glavlit [Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press] and its local subdivisions the responsibilities of an ideological censor. However, the very existence of Glavlit was concealed from the public for many years. Even at present regulations on Glavlit are a classified document. The functions of an ideological censor were entrusted to Glavlit by the apparatus which tried to control any movement of thought in our society. The apparatus already knows today what is going to be in tomorrow's issue of the newspaper. All of this is called preliminary censorship, a generally shameful phenomenon for any democratic society.

However, censorship does not mean Glavlit alone. At present, party committees dictate what the press which is supposedly leading us in the wrong direction can and cannot write about.

V.A. Kuptsov, first secretary of the Vologda Oblast Party Committee:

For example, I believe that the orientation of the draft toward the primacy, a special status for the press and other mass media in our society is a shortcoming of the draft (this is my opinion, and it is possible that it may seem debatable to some people). To my mind, it is also a drawback that many initial political institutions, concepts, and principles reflected in the USSR Constitution are omitted in the law.

As a Communist (and communists account for 85 percent of the people's deputies) I cannot, for example, agree with the fact that this document contains not a word about our supreme interests—the interests of the people, of socialism. Why are we sort of ashamed of those words, and cannot emphasize our goals in the draft law?

A.M. Yemelyanov, head of the chair of agricultural economics of the imeni M.V. Lomonosov Moscow State University, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

I have had many meetings with the voters during these days. I will tell you plainly that the situation is approximately such as it was after the March plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, after the well-known decision on Yeltsin. Then, all pre-election meetings began with the questions and the signing of collective documents. At present, wherever you go questions are asked first of all concerning the recent meeting at the Central Committee of the party with the leaders of the mass media. The pressure campaign against ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, against the editor in chief of the weekly, Comrade Starkov, is known from the press.

Certainly, we have to respond. The voters raise the issues this way: What are you doing, why are you letting this happen, why is the old policy being continued?

Why is the issue of removing Comrade Starkov being "forced" so persistently? What mistakes have been committed by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY? He has made mistakes—all of us have. Who is immune from them? Even the highest leaders have made a good deal of mistakes, and considerably more significant at that! However, we will not raise the issue of removing them now.

T.M. Shamba, secretary of the party committee of the CPSU Academy of Social Sciences:

During the period of perestroyka, the press which previously felt inferior and was manacled by the ideological taboos and censorship came to be a powerful force and wield real power over the people. Despite this, some people still retain the concept of the press as the favorite child of democracy on whom freedoms and legal immunity can be lavished endlessly without assuming the excessive burden of responsibility. I for one think that the issue of responsibility should be raised in such a manner that, on the one hand, society should be responsible to the press, and on the other hand, the press should be responsible to society.

At present, in the age of information management, the people encounter new phenomena—the emergence of information power which, to my mind, may become a variety of political power and gain the same significance as the legislative, executive, and judicial authorities.

A.S. Potapov, editor in chief of the newspaper TRUD, city of Moscow:

We may begin with the provision of Article 6 which is giving rise to much controversy. As I see it, it is not just superficially attractive and radical, but also promising; I am referring to the right of an individual citizen of the USSR to act as the founding entity of a mass medium. Nonetheless, I am in agreement with the critics of this provision who believe that we should sort out fundamental problems first, primarily that of property.

Like other members of the Committee for the Issues of Glasnost, Rights, and Appeals by Citizens, I regard as irregular, to put it mildly, the rewording of Article 43 which topples the guarantees of the freedom of speech and the press and takes us back to the problems of yesteryear, the problems of clearing materials which provide a wide field for manipulating the press and public opinion. As far as the opportunities of the founding entity are concerned, I believe that we should take into consideration the fact that the founding entity, apparently, also has a right to count on its position, its line being definitively followed by the mass medium (in this, I am contravening the logic of sound egoism of an editor, which is what I am).

G.P. Kharchenko, first secretary of the Zaporozhye Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

To my mind, by adopting the draft law in this form we will create a real criticism-free zone which contravenes the norms of our present life, all the more so if in keeping with Article 6 we will allow private media.

I believe that the responsibility for the quality of the materials prepared needs to be assured; both the journalist and the editorial board should be responsible for this. Look, however, at how emasculated the rights of the editorial board are! Four journalists at a rayon newspaper will get together, adopt their charter, and in the oblast newspaper 20 journalists will get together and adopt theirs. So, is this the foundation for mutual relations between the publisher or founding entity and the editorial collective?

Ye.A. Yevtushenko, poet, secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Writers, city of Moscow:

What is our Supreme Soviet, which is increasingly gaining respect despite attacks against it? It is a gigantic office with transparent walls through which the people see everything we do here. Why then do they take our draft laws all the time to offices with impenetrable walls?

The Law on the Press is necessary in light of the crude administrative removal of the editor of LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, combat veteran Kolosov, from his position quite recently, already in the time of perestroyka—actually, this amounted to reprisals for criticism; in light of the constant pressure brought to bear on the TV programs "Glance" and "Six Hundred Seconds"; in light of the attempts to remove ARGUMENTY I FAKTY editor Starkov, under whom the circulation of the newspaper increased to 30 million, KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE editor Averin, and the editor of the Noginsk newspaper, and the persecution of many oblast and rayon journalists which has been reported in all press organs, including PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA.

V.A. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee:

Our newspapers, magazines, television, and cinema present a wide range of opinions, positions, judgments, views, and assessments. Never before have the mass media attracted that much attention and played a role that considerable in the life of our society. In conjunction with this, the management of this sphere has also changed profoundly. Essentially, the old system of management of the mass media based on comprehensive control and direct administrative regulation has been dismantled. The system of advance control of the materials published, censorship, has lost its functions.

Just as with regard to other aspects of renewal, a certain distance emerging between the dismantling of the old and the birth of the new becomes apparent. The old methods of regulating the information sphere are somehow no more. However, for now the new methods inherent in a law-governed state are not in existence either. Old norms and traditions survive willy-nilly despite outliving their time. Under the circumstances, the aspiration of some people who believe that everything is tumbling to, as they say, tighten the screw, cling more firmly to the old methods and techniques of managing the press, and to continue commanding, administering, and, if you will, retrogressing becomes stronger. All of this is not in the spirit of the times. We have no attachment to such methods, and we are combating them one step at a time.

The so-called unregistered publications—that is, those beyond the law—are also mushrooming. There are hundreds of them nationwide, but there are especially many in the republics where, so to speak, this sphere has not been put in order. It cannot be put in order anyway without the Law on the Press.

At the same time, adopting the Law on the Press or even publishing it in the press are endeavors so significant that apparently we need to analyze them closely again and again, primarily from the standpoint of how fully the interests of all parties involved in the information process are reflected.

In the course of the preliminary discussion, perhaps only one voice was not heard—that of the citizens and organizations as the subjects of journalistic scrutiny. To some degree, this has affected the content of the law.

Deputies Answer Readers' Questions

PM0712134189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Dec 89 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed account of interviews with USSR People's Deputies S.S. Alekseyev, Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, B.I. Oleynik, A.A. Sobchak, Colonel V.N. Ochirov, and I.A. Zhdakayev, based on readers' questions submitted to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "Parliament Is Working on Perestroyka. USSR People's Deputies Answer KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Readers' Questions"; places, dates of interviews not given; bold passages are editorial interpolations]

[Excerpts]

No Need for Political Speculation

Sergey Sergeyevich Alekseyev was born in 1924. He is a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Urals Department Philosophy and Law Institute. Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order Committee.

[Question] Sergey Sergeyevich, here is your first question in your capacity as a jurist. Readers believe that the breakdown of the country's economy has recently been aggravated by the fact that the USSR Supreme Soviet, when adopting laws, fails to check them against objective economic laws. How do deputies intend to eliminate the contradiction between them and the measures brought about by what could be described as the elemental forces of perestroyka?

[Alekseyev] I would not formulate the question so rigidly, since the Supreme Soviet has, in essence, not yet adopted laws concerning the economic reform. The first such normative act was the Law on Leasing. It is well known that the other bills were not adopted. And the main point is that the Supreme Soviet and its committees and commissions, when elaborating new normative acts, proceed primarily from the premise that they should conform with objective economic laws and more fully reveal their inherent potential.

[Question] The next question is a follow-up to the first: Is legal expert opinion sought on draft laws submitted for discussion by the USSR Supreme Soviet? In some readers' opinion, a series of laws adopted by the session are "at variance" with the current Constitution.

[Alekseyev] Let me emphasize again that we did not adopt such laws. But this did happen in several union republics. You are aware of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's reaction to those normative acts which, to use the questioner's words, "are at variance with the current Constitution."

This is a complex problem. It is to a certain extent associated with the fact that all-union legislation is lagging behind today's realities.

[Question] This is evidently confirmed by the Standing Orders of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet which were ratified by the session and require the introduction of new articles in the Constitution.

[Alekseyev] Yes, the work on this document required certain amendments to our Fundamental Law. It can be said that the standing orders translate constitutional provisions into the language of more specific rules and norms.

[Questions] Many readers ask about your attitude toward the debates around Article 6 of the USSR Constitution.

[Alekseyev] My position here is as follows: I believe that speculation has developed around this question. There is no doubt that the actual problem of constitutionally consolidating the party's role is important. In my view, the present version of Article 6 of the USSR Constitution does not conform with present-day realities and the demands of democratization. Of course a new approach is needed here. Some sort of amendments are necessary. But this ought to be done within the framework of the entire work on the Constitution, without singling out just the problem associated with the provision which consolidates the party's leading role. The discussion of this problem in isolation, the detachment of this question from the full context of improving the Constitution, can only confuse the situation and give it completely different overtones. This is incorrect both politically and juridically.

[Question] Did you vote for or against putting this question on the agenda of the forthcoming Congress of People's Deputies when the session discussed it?

[Alekseyev] I voted against for those selfsame reasons I just mentioned. I made my final decision after one deputy suggested that there should be a roll call vote. It seemed to me that this suggestion contained some element of outside pressure. This is precisely why I deemed it correct to openly and honestly state my position. I am in favor of all constitutional questions being discussed, including this one. But I am against it being particularly singled out in this fashion, against political speculation being woven around it. [passage omitted]

Army Also Needs Protection

Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Fedorovich Akhromeyev was born in 1923 and has served in the army since 1940. During the Great Patriotic War he commanded a platoon, and then a battalion. During the postwar years he served in different high command and staff positions and was chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister. Now he is an adviser to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and inspector general with the USSR Ministry of Defense Group of Inspectors General. He is a Hero of the Soviet Union.

We received an especially large number of questions addressed to Sergey Fedorovich. We selected the most typical and most frequent among them.

[Question] Judging by the USSR Supreme Soviet session's agenda, questions concerning the solution of defense problems, military building, and the improvement of living standards for military cadres and their families did not rank as being of paramount importance. Do you believe this was justified? Is it right to consider the ensuring of state security a matter of secondary importance? readers ask.

[Akhromeyev] We must bear in mind that the really major questions of defense capability are decided by the USSR Defense Council. It works systematically. The

USSR Supreme Soviet approved the military budget. This is an important decision. It is, therefore, hardly correct to present the question in this fashion.

What makes me personally displeased with the USSR Supreme Soviet's work? It must respond more sharply to attacks by some of the mass media against the USSR Armed Forces and Great Patriotic War veterans. Given that the Army and Navy protect their country, the people's deputies must protect the USSR Armed Forces.

[Question] Here is another question that was asked: Why is it that deputies do not stand up to protect the Armed Forces when the army is insulted by some representatives of the Baltic republics and the Transcaucasus?

[Answer] Serviceman deputies uphold the honor and dignity of the Armed Forces. They do this at sittings of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its commissions and committees, in the press, and on television. Probably not enough is being done. I personally spent a week working in Latvia on this specific question. For the future I will heed this opinion of your readers. I will constantly fight for the good name of the Army and the Navy.

I sent a lengthy "Open Letter" to OGONEK and its chief editor, V.A. Korotich, polemicizing with the journal on a series of questions concerning the USSR Armed Forces. I expect this letter to be published in December. It is necessary for the Army community to respond more sharply to the attacks launched against the Armed Forces. Of course, there must be differentiation between attacks and justified criticism which serves the cause.

[Question] It is well known that servicemen cannot go on strike, as some of those who called us said. The military have no trade union to uphold their rights. In your capacity as legislators, what ways do you perceive for consolidating servicemen's constitutional rights in the immediate future?

[Akhromeyev] These rights are consolidated by the Law on Defense, the regulations which are due to be ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet, and other legal acts governing the performance of military service... I believe it is necessary to give greater powers to officers' meetings in units. They must have the right to ensure social justice where officers are concerned. There must be public monitoring by soldiers and sergeants doing compulsory service of, for example, the quality and quantity of food in soldiers' messes.

Commanders and commanding officers, as well as political organs and political workers, must show due consideration to these social organs of the personnel, help them, and respond promptly to questions raised by them.

[Question] In your view, is there a need for a law on civil defense? If so, when will it be examined?

[Akhromeyev] There is a need for a law on civil defense. It is being drafted in the Ministry of Defense and should be submitted for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet Defense and State Security Committee in 1990. [passage omitted]

For the Sake of Our Brotherhood

Boris Ilich Oleynik was born in 1935. He was elected from the CPSU. He is a Ukrainian poet and deputy chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities. Judging by the editorial mailbag, readers remember his speeches at the session. We asked him questions on the theme of nationalities problems. [passage omitted]

[Question] There is also a question about Soviet Kurds... In other words, we are moving on to discuss repressed peoples.

[Oleynik] We have already raised in the Supreme Soviet questions about restoring the rights of peoples who have suffered from repressions. A special declaration was adopted which clearly expresses the parliament's political and moral line. Soviet Kurds were also named in the sad list of victims of Stalinism.

[Question] Will there be a commission on the problems of Soviet Kurds?

[Oleynik] If this question is pressing, why not solve it? I will try to produce the necessary materials. But we also need proposals from local level. Primarily from the Kurds themselves. [passage omitted]

Toward Supremacy of the Law

Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak was born in 1937. He is a well-known specialist in the sphere of economic law, doctor of juridical sciences, professor, and head of a department at Leningrad State University. He is deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order Committee.

[Question] Parliament is adopting some quite good laws. But at times they are ignored by administrators. Does this mean that our legal acts contain too many declaratory statements?

[Sobchak] This is indeed so. Legislative acts and government resolutions (especially those adopted a few years ago but still in force) contain numerous declaratory statements making it possible to twist the law any which way. Hence the sundry instructions and arbitrary interpretations.

[Question] For example?

[Sobchak] This applies largely to the Law on the State Enterprise, and even more so to the Law on the Rights of Labor Collectives. The latter has simply not come into effect.

The present Supreme Soviet, when discussing draft laws, strives to achieve utmost clarity and utmost accuracy so as to rule out any future ambiguity in interpreting the law. But I don't think this is the point. The fact that laws are ineffective is not due only to their quality. Much depends also on the people whose duty it is to apply them.

It is no secret that our apparatus of state power, and the law-enforcement organs in particular, functions downright poorly. Maybe they have been spoilt by the situation when everyone adopted a scornful attitude toward the law, when it was supplanted by instructions. Such reprimands must also be accepted by parliament, in other words by all of us working at the session.

It must be said that we have already taken a major step toward building a rule-of-law state. The idea of the supremacy of the law is beginning to make headway. Of course, there will be deviations and certain departures from what has been planned. But the objective is clear, and we are moving toward it. In a rule-of-law state there must be no citizens, officials, or political organizations who are not subject to the law. [passage omitted]

Our Authority Depends on Us

Colonel Valeriy Nikolayevich Ochirov was born in 1951. He graduated from the Syzran Higher Military Aviation School for Pilots and the Military-Political Academy. Until recently he commanded an aviation regiment, and is now a student at the Military Academy of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff. He is a Hero of the Soviet Union. Deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Defense and State Security Committee.

[Question] The most frequent question concerns pension provisions for servicemen. Readers ask: When and how will a law on them be discussed?

[Ochirov] The draft Law on Pensions submitted for nationwide discussion says that conditions, norms, and regulations governing pension provisions will be laid down by the USSR Law on Pension Provisions for Servicemen. The draft of this law will evidently be discussed at the next session. The 1990 military budget provides for R1.2 billion from funds allocated for defense to be channeled to meet servicemen's social needs, including pension provisions.

[Question] Another question to you, in your capacity as deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Defense and State Security Committee.

At what stage is the work on the draft Law on Defense?

[Ochirov] It is now being worked on. Our committee hopes to embark on its discussion at the first reading in the very near future.

[Question] There is need for a targeted state program for the utilization of officers and warrant officers following their discharge from Armed Forces ranks. How do deputies perceive this?

[Ochirov] I agree, there is a need for this. Our committee recently heard Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff. I asked him whether the Ministry of Defense Main Personnel Directorate has some subdivision which would regulate, within the framework of a certain program, the utilization of officers and warrant officers transferred to the reserve—ensuring that they do not run around in search of work but are offered some suggestions with due consideration for their professional training. I was told that no such subdivision exists as yet, but that cadre organs will look into these questions.

[Question] Readers ask about your attitude toward the increasingly frequent attacks on the Army by the mass media?

[Ochirov] My attitude toward such material is unambiguous. Indignation is caused by its groundlessness, the unfairness of the authors' opinions, and very often their incompetence. How else, for example, could one treat KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's report on 29 October [See the related article on page 106 of the 8 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, entitled: "Rumors Regarding 'Kirov' Mutiny Addressed,"—FBIS] alleging that the nuclear-powered missile cruiser *Kirov*, while in territorial waters near Iceland, disobeyed an order by the Navy General Staff and that the officers and crew went on strike and made political demands. Who finds it advantageous to spread such rumors, and why? I am in a position to inform the newspaper's readers of a telegram sent to the USSR Supreme Soviet by the cruiser's crew.

"...The entire crew of the cruiser was indignant on learning of this report," the telegram says, "and believes that such 'sensationalism' undeservedly discredits the Navy in the public's eyes and raises doubts about the political reliability of the cruiser's personnel. The crew of the Red Banner cruiser *Kirov* reports to you with the utmost responsibility that the ship has not been off Iceland since early this year, it has not entered any country's territorial waters, it has been moored and has not been at sea since August, and is carrying out base training in accordance with plan. We ask you to protect the cruiser's personnel against such slanderous fabrications and overt attacks by newspaper editorial offices.... Through all the years that we have been on the Navy's combat strength we have done nothing to discredit the honor and dignity of Red Banner *Kirov* men, we have loyally served the motherland and—it goes without saying—have done nothing to deserve such treatment. We have been and are proud to serve on the flagship of the Soviet nuclear-propelled surface fleet which carries the name and the Red Banner naval flag of the legendary Great Patriotic War cruiser."

I think any further comment would be superfluous. Every word uttered in the press or on radio and television must be backed by the utmost responsibility. But we must also bear in mind that the prestige of the Armed Forces largely depends on us—officers, warrant officers, soldiers, and sergeants. We must rid the army more quickly of the shortcomings and negative phenomena that exist—and primarily the nonregulation relationships.

[Question] Valeriy Nikolayevich, many readers ask for your appraisal of the work done by the USSR Supreme Soviet's second session.

[Ochirov] Although we failed to resolve all questions, I appraise the session's work as very productive. Some most important legislative acts were adopted, and we have prepared virtually all the documents due for submission to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. It can confidently be said that the session worked on perestroyka and our society's renewal. [passage omitted]

Glasnost and Privileges

Ivan Andreyevich Zhdakayev was born and grew up on Sakhalin Island. After army service he returned home and took up work as a bulldozer operator. He is 32 years old. A member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, he is active on the Deputies' Commission on Privileges.

It was only to be expected that questions addressed to the legislators should include quite a few concerning privileges.

[Question] The decision was taken to abolish the USSR Ministry of Health No 4 Main Administration, but readers believe that it is not being fulfilled. Who will be in charge of monitoring?

[Zhdakayev] Our commission.

We recommended the abolition of the No 4 Main Administration. Government orders (dated 31 August and 12 October this year) are already being implemented as regards the handing over of a number of children's and other treatment and sanatorium institutions under the No 4 Main Administration to provide services for the "unprivileged." Therefore the decision is actually being fulfilled.

Our commission actually examined these questions 22 November. It has become clear that so far the republics (whose ministries of health also have similar administrations) are not moving all that fast. But I do think that matters will get moving there as well. What is needed in the first place is accurate information on these problems.

Just before the Congress (and possibly while it is in session) deputies will organize a "roundtable" session to discuss the state of affairs as regards the liquidation of nomenklatura privileges. It was decided to invite the television cameras along, to let glasnost do its job here as well.

[Question] The draft Law on Pensions has been published. It says nothing at all about personal pensions. Does this mean that they are being abolished?

[Zhdakayev] You know, one of the deputies at the commission's 22 November sitting asked that selfsame question of V.I. Shcherbakov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, who was reporting to the commission. Comrade Shcherbakov cited the following figures. This year the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems received over 6,000 applications for union-level pensions, but over 1,000 of them were turned down. It was said at the session that it would be nonetheless expedient to retain these pensions in order to avoid leveling. The proposals included suggestions that every application be subject to broad discussion in conditions of glasnost. But this is not all that easy to do. Who will discuss a minister's application? To put it briefly, a lot of unclarity. I was unable to make a statement at the time, and will therefore state my viewpoint now: The pensions bill will make it possible for everyone who works well to obtain a good pension. It is not worth making any exceptions. [passage omitted]

USSR Supreme Soviet Resolutions

Land Law Fundamentals

PM0712150989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 89 Second Edition p1

[USSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On the Draft Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Land"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To approve on the first reading the main provisions of the draft Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Land.

2. To instruct the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Agrarian Questions and Food, the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, and other USSR Supreme Soviet committees and chamber standing commissions to make the necessary elaborations to the draft law on the basis of USSR people's deputies' proposals and observations.

To publish the draft law in the press for nationwide discussion.

3. To instruct the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Agrarian Questions and Food, the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, and other USSR Supreme Soviet committees and chamber standing commissions to finalize the draft Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Land on the basis of proposals and observations made by USSR people's deputies and received during the nationwide discussion and submit the draft law for discussion to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Kremlin, Moscow, 27 November 1989.

On Leave Law

PM0712165189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 89 Second Edition p1

[USSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On Draft Law on Leave"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To approve on the first reading the main provisions of the Draft Law on Leave.

2. To publish the draft law in the press for nationwide discussion on the basis of proposals and observations made by USSR people's deputies at the USSR Supreme Soviet sitting.

3. To instruct the Soviet of the Union Commission for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy Questions, the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for the Protection of the People's Health, the USSR Council of Ministers, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and committees and standing commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet's chambers to finalize the aforementioned draft on the basis of proposals and observations made by USSR people's deputies and received during the nationwide discussion and submit it for discussion to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
The Kremlin, Moscow, 28 November 1989.

Political & Social

Lithuanian 7 Dec Supreme Soviet Session

0800 GMT

LD0712192989

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0800 GMT on 7 December begins to broadcast a live relay of the 4th day of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session in Vilnius. The session begins with the discussion of the republic's budget for next year. Discussions focus on which rayon or department of a ministry should receive more money next year.

A decision is passed to cancel the validity of several decrees the USSR Council of Ministers adopted on this republic's territory.

Following this, session chairman Lionginas Septeys announces that a number of deputies asked to interrupt the current discussion of the budget and state plan for the time being and to carry on with the postponed discussion on the amendments to Article 6 of the Constitution. The deputies said that they had urgent matters to attend to elsewhere, and did not want to leave the house while an issue of vital importance was being discussed. At this point in the relay, reception deteriorates significantly.

Justice minister P. Kuris takes the floor and invites the house to conduct a calm and serious debate on the issue of constitutional amendments to Article 6. He says that some deputies have expressed their concern, asking if the Supreme Soviet session had the legal right to return to the issue which had failed to pass a majority of votes and to discuss the issue once again. He says that neither the Constitution nor the rules of the Supreme Soviet indicate that this is not possible. Everything depends on the deputies, he says.

P. Kuris says that the Presidium Constitutional Commission received many proposals concerning the issues, analyzed them, and concluded that "the main thing is that Article 6 is somewhat imperfect in its formulation." He says that Article 6 is placed at the beginning of the Constitution in the paragraph entitled "Political System." As the article is already in this chapter, it automatically refers to the political system. Therefore, Kuris proposes to delete the words "political system" in the article. He says: "The first part of the article would be one sentence only, which is 'parties, public organizations, and public movements are set up according to the order defined by the law and function within the framework of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Constitution and the law.' This is clear and simple."

Kuris goes on to discuss proposals to amend the text of Article 7. He explains why the commission believes this should not be done. He says that the proposal to omit names of institutions would be erroneous for these still needed specific constitutional protection. However, he says, this could be done later.

Following this, a vote is taken on the proposal to continue the debate on the postponed issue of the amendment of constitutional Article 6. 256 deputies voted in favor, none against, and 4 abstaining. A total of 281 deputies are present. Opera singer Virgilijus Noreika shouts that deputies should vote by name because there were many who avoided voting at all. This proposal is not adopted.

At 1018 GMT the deputies vote on amending Article 6 of the Constitution. Session chairman Sepetys says: "All those who are in favor of adopting the Lithuanian SSR Law on the amendment of Article 6 in the Constitution as this republic's basic law? I will read the text just in case. Article 6 reads as follows: 'Parties, public organizations, and public movements are set up according to the orders defined by the law and function within the framework of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and the Law.' All those who are in favor of adopting this article, please vote. We need 229 votes to amend this article."

While the delegates are voting, the Vilnius Radio correspondent in the hall reads out the old version of Article 6 which said that the leading and ruling political force was the CPSU.

The broadcast from the live session continues with Sepetys reading out the results of the vote. He says: "243 are in favor." This is followed by a storm of applause. He continues: "This ballot is not yet over. All those against? One. Who abstains? Thirty-nine abstentions. Thus Article 6 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution has been adopted as announced by a majority of 243 votes."

Reception deteriorates for 2 minutes. When good reception is restored, the deputies are taking a vote on the amendment of Article 7 of the Constitution which says that all public organizations here participated in the solution of all state and public problems, in the solution of political, economic, and sociocultural questions.

270 deputies vote in favor, none against, and 3 abstentions. The law on amending Article 7 is adopted.

Following this the vote taken on the whole law which amended the two articles: Article 6 and 7. 259 deputies vote in favor, none against, and 14 abstain.

1100 GMT

LD0712223189

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1100 GMT on 7 December continues its live relay of the fourth day of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session in Vilnius.

After the vote on the law amending Articles 6 and 7 of the Constitution, the discussion of the draft decision of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet "concerning political parties" begins. Since this is not a constitutional matter, it is decided that a simple majority of votes is sufficient for adoption. 263 deputies vote in favor of adopting the draft decision "about political parties", none vote against, and there are 11 abstentions. The decision is adopted.

Following this, insignificant organizational matters are discussed before the session proceeds with the agenda. The next issue on the agenda is debates on the bill of the elections to local Soviets.

Deputy Vanda Klyuniene takes the floor and makes a brief report on the issue. Her report concerns specific proposals by the deputies on alterations in the text of the bill.

Section two of the bill is about the participation of the military in the elections. V. Klykuniene reads the text of section two and states: "As you can see, this formulation creates such a situation that servicemen would not be able to influence the course of the elections". She also says that this problem was solved in the same manner by Latvians and Estonians.

A vote is then taken on the date of the next elections to local Soviets. 264 deputies vote in favor of the proposal to hold the elections on the 24 March, 1990. The proposal is adopted.

Following this, other specific decisions concerning elections to local soviets are discussed, particularly the participation of the military. It is decided that soldiers should participate in elections as a closed organization and with a special quota.

Deputy Nekrosius calls upon the people of Lithuania to think before they sign the call for a referendum on this question.

Vytautas Astrauskas says that a referendum is a very costly business and a referendum on whether the soldiers of the Soviet Armed Forces who were dislocated on the territory of this republic should have the right to vote in this Republic would introduce tensions between the Army and the people.

People's Deputy Zita Slicyte says that Deputy Nekrosius confused people's human rights and their rights as citizens. She asks: "Can we, however, admit that their human rights are violated because they do not have the rights of the citizens of Lithuania, which also includes the right to vote? Can we claim that we have been harmed because we do not have the rights of a French citizen and as a result of this, can we claim that our human rights have been violated? Such a statement made by the esteemed general misleads you in a sense that he wants to influence the deputies' emotions and to tell you that the soldiers would be hurt if they were not allowed to vote in the elections of the local Soviets of towns where they reside only temporarily."

Zita Slicyre goes on to say: And nevertheless, esteemed deputies, whether we want it or not, the referendum will take place. This will cost us about R1.5 million." Slicyre says that according to her information, only several hundred additional signatures were needed to have the required amount of 30,000. She expresses the view that this question should be solved here and the money could be spent on health service. She urges the deputies to be resolute saying: "During the first sittings of this session, you become convinced that esteemed Vytautas Astrauskas, chairman of our Supreme Soviet, doesn't even know, and, therefore, could not answer the question of how many soldiers were in Lithuania. Servicemen are not subordinate to Lithuania. And yet we grant them the rights of citizens, the right to form the organs of self-government of the future independent Lithuania, the right to form the organ of the highest authority of the future independent Lithuania. This issue should be given very careful consideration. In addition to this, I ask all the deputies to hear the voice of their electors. As you know, the collection of signatures for the referendum is going on."

Following this, Deputy Vaisvila takes the floor. He asks: "If the law on citizenship does not grant the right to vote to soldiers who are not citizens of this republic, then why do we have to make an exception? Why don't we observe the adopted law on citizenship?" The debates are then declared over. Following the conclusion of the debates, reception deteriorates to unmonitorable for 10 minutes.

When reception improves, the issue of trade matters in Klaipeda is being discussed. The chief of the Klaipeda trade organizations, Mr Lichtinstein, claims that a crowd of people surrounded his house in Klaipeda and threatined him. Criminal proceedings have been already instituted against those to blame, announces the speaker, Marijonas Misiukonis, minister of internal affairs. Deputy Zita Zlicyte from Kalipeda accuses the newspaper TARYBINE KLAIPEDA, saying that 'social and political problems are used to incite tension among nationalities.

Following this, the session is adjourned until 1315 GMT.

Lithuanian Debate on Article 6 Summed Up

LD0712183289 Moscow TASS in English 1817 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Vilnius December 7 ELTA-TASS—Lithuania's Supreme Soviet ended its session here today.

Heated debates were sparked by reports on the economic and social development of the republic and the budget for the next year. As a result, higher allocations are envisaged for nature conservation, the social sphere and housing construction, while expenditure on productive branches is reduced.

Discussion of Article 6 of the republic's Constitution had to be carried over to a second day. Article 6 stipulates that the CPSU is "the leading and guiding force of Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system, of all state organisations and public organisations."

Today 243 deputies out of 283 voted to reword this article, which now reads: "parties, mass organisations and mass movements are set up in a procedure established by the legislation and function within the framework of the Constitution and the law of the Lithuanian SSR."

Elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet are set for February 24, 1990, and to local governing councils for March 24.

The session also passed a law on the payment of pensions to pensioners who continue to work. Under the current legislation the amount of pension and wage cannot exceed a certain ceiling. From January 1, 1990, all limitations are lifted.

Ammends Articles Six, Seven

LD0812094189 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Now Dinas Stanita will read a commentary by Edvinas Butkus.

[Stanita] Lithuanian Supreme Soviet today changed Article 6 of the Constitution, thus legalizing a multiparty system in Lithuania. The earlier version of this article spoke about the domination of the Soviet Union's Communist Party in all spheres of life—in the political system, in state and public organizations. Now article six of the constitution runs as follows:

Parties, public organizations, and movements are established as enacted by law and operate within the framework of Lithuania's constitution and legislation.

This decision of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet has no precedent in the other Soviet republics. It is known, however, that a group of radical USSR people's deputies for Russia have come out with an initiative to hold a 2-hour strike on 11 December, on the eve of the second Congress of People's Deputies to support their demand to include the issue on article six of the Soviet Union's Constitution into the agenda of the congress.

Today the Supreme Soviet worked for a full day in extension of the earlier envisaged term. The deputies reverted to a number of earlier debated issues, including article six of the constitution. When the latter issue was put to the vote yesterday, 219 deputies voted for changing the article, but 10 votes were lacking for the issue to be passed; 85 deputies were absent during yesterday's voting. today there were 15 deputies more than yesterday and that was enough.

Still discussions were kindled anew by general (Stepanus Nakausas), chief of Lithuania's Civil Defense Staff. He demanded that 10 of the Supreme Soviet [words indistinct] resign. At the start of the discussion Lionginas Sepetys himself said that he had expected that. According to him it was the materialization of a certain line inspired, though it was not put bluntly, by the communist party's conservative circles. The deputies, mostly the Soviet Union's MPs for Lithuania who took part in today's sitting, stood up resolutely to defend Lionginas Sepetys. And when the no confidence proposal was put to the vote it was supported by only 14 deputies.

And on Thursday (?above) discussion there were debates concerning the most important issue—article six of the constitution. All argued unanimously that the article was outdated, though there were some new answers. At long last the voting took place—243 MPs voted for the new version, 39 abstained, and 1 was against.

By a separate vote, article seven of the constitution was also changed. Now it reads like this: Political, professional youths, womens, veterans, cooperative, public organizations, and movements, creative unions, and scientific societies, in compliance with their rules and program tasks, take part in managing state and public affairs in considering political, economic and social, cultural issues.

There are two new aspects in this article. First political organizations are mentioned while the All-Union Lenin Young Communist League is not mentioned. As is known, this summer an independent organization of young communists was founded in Lithuania.

The change of Article 6 of the constitution has been supplemented with a Supreme Soviet decree on political parties, which proclaims the current Communist Party of Lithuanian the successor of Lithuaniania's Communist Party registered on 25 June 1940 at the Ministry of Internal Affairs at the Lithuanian Republic. The existence of the above registration document became known only yesterday; it has not been published as yet.

Now the rest of the session's decisions. The elections to the local soviets of people's deputies are schedued for 24 March, a month after the elections to the Supreme Soviet. After separate debates it was decided by a majority of votes that the servicemen of military units stationed in Lithuania take part in those elections, in compliance with the general order. The Supreme Soviet also endorsed the republic's budget for 1990 and passed a decree on Lithuania's economic and social development next year. Both drafts were subjected to severe criticism and adopted with the reservation that amendments will be introduced with the rapidly changing economic situation.

Further on Article 6

LD0712230189 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Next you will hear a commentary on the 15th session of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet.

This day at the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session might have become a historic date for Lithuania. Chance offered itself to change Article 6 of the Lithuanian constitution, providing the monopolistic leading role of the Soviet Communist Party. Alas this did not happen.

The issue of changing Article 6 was an additional item on the sessin agenda. Yesterday the constitution Commission met in a session, while today in the morning sitting its chairman and the leader of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Algirdas Brazauskas, read out a resolution. The commission acknowledged that Article 6 of the Lithuanian constitution did not conform to the principles of the civilized democratic state, that premises were present to go over to a multiparty system, that what carried political weight in a pluralist society was not formal criteria but concrete deeds and programs, real and not just proclaimed leading role of the party.

The Constitutional Commission suggested discussing the issue in the 16th session of the Lithuanian parliament, due next january. The argument was that the extraordinary 20th congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party should voice its opinion on the issue and that there was no so far legal mechanism for registering different parties and constitutional regulation of their activities.

The suggestion caused heated debate in which 22 deputies took the floor, some of them even twice. Almost all the speakers were unanimous: the changing of Article 6 should not be postponed as the whole Lithuania and the overwhelming majority of Lithuanian Communists had been looking forward to this day. [Passage omitted]

The debates were interrupted by Algirdas Brazauskas, who proposed for the constitutional commission to meet again and rethink the resolution. So what was left for the deputies to do was to carry out their historic mission. That this was not accomplished, blame should be laid in large measure in our impatience when the goal we seek is in sight.

Let me just cite some figures: 342 deputies work in the Supreme Soviet. Only 258 deputies were present at this sitting. To pass a resolution two thirds of votes are needed, or 228 deputies. Out of those present only 219 deputies voted for the alteration of Article 6. One voted against and 30 abstained. Some deputies did not vote at all and left the auditorium. As a result the Supreme Soviet chairman, Lionginas Sepetys, interrupted the sitting and adjourned the issue to the next day. So Lithuania places high hopes on tomorrow, the day with all chances to become a historic one.

More on End to Lithuanian Party Monopoly

LD0712174889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1636 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, Dec 7 (TANJUG)—The Supreme Soviet (Parliament) of the Soviet Baltic Republic of Lithuania on Thursday abolished Provision Six [Article 6] of its Constitution which determines the leading role of the Communist Party, Lithuanian Supreme Soviet representatives told TANJUG in Moscow.

Lithuania, thus, became the first Soviet republic to adopt such a change.

The same could occur in the other Baltic republic, Estonia, whose Supreme Soviet went into session on Wednesday and which has on the agenda the same constitutional changes.

In a telephone conversation with the representatives of the Lithuanian parliament, TANJUG's correspondent was also told that the phrasing of Provision Seven has also been amended to increase the role of socio-political and other voluntary citizens' associations in making important economic, political and social decisions.

This phrasing was also proposed for the Estonian Constitution, which means that these two republics, including the orientation of the third—Latvia, are in accord regarding the party's role.

Their stand is that the party should not in advance be guaranteed its leading role, but have to compete for it through political practice.

The stand of the Baltic republics, including some others, is not in keeping with the stand of the country's top party leadership, which only envisions the separation of party and executive functions and the implementation of basic party reforms.

Lithuanian KGB Chief on Stalinist Rehabilitation

LD0812101389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Now, an interview by Eduardas Eismontas, chairman of the KGB of Lithuania, given to a TASS special correspondent is expounded briefly. He declared that the bodies of the USSR KGB are for the first time in their history carrying out a double function. Together with their direct duties guaranteeing the security of the country, they are also occupied with the rehabilitation of individuals who suffered during the years of Stalinist repressions.

Jointly with the procuracy of the republic, for example, more than 3,000 people repressed without trial or investigation have been fully vindicated by the bodies of the Lithuanian KGB. In addition to this, Eismontas added a review of criminal cases against individuals convicted by military tribunals and other legal bodies is being conducted.

Evaluating the progress of perestroyka which is occurring in Lithuania, the leader of the republic's KGB stressed that it has stirred up society, imparting to it an unprecedented political activeness and dynamism. However, the chairman of the republic's KGB expressed concern that forces hostile to the constitutional structure, proclaiming pluralism of views and freedom of opinion, have started to relate intolerantly to other opinions and evaluations. Political blackmail and labels have started to become life's norm, and in addition to this threats of violence and calls to take up arms are emerging.

The aim of the work by the KGB of Lithuania collective, Eismontas stressed in conclusion, is to provide normal conditions for the perestroyka process.

Latvian Sailors Union Established

LD0511213489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1109 GMT 5 Nov 89

[Text] Riga, 5 Nov (TASS)—A national union of sailors has been set up in Latvia. Captains and navigators of the Latvian Maritime and River Shipping Lines, of fishing collective farms, of the State Association of the Fish Industry and other organizations and departments of the republic connected with water transport have joined it. The purpose of the new public organization is to assist the development of maritime transport and fishing in connection with Latvia's transition next year to economic independence.

The Sailors' Union intends to participate in the creation of a maritime register for Latvia, the elaboration of a maritime code for the republic, and the improvement of training of Latvian sailors and fishermen.

Newspaper on Latvian Social Democrats

PM0612151389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Dec 89 First Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel M. Ziyeminsh: "Latvia: 'Big Turnout' In Yurmala"]

[Text] On 2 and 3 December a congress was held in the Yurmala "Melluzhi" Composers' Center in connection with the so-called resumption of the activity of the Latvian Social Democratic Party [LSDP], whose delegates, it was announced here, represented approximately 600 members. It is reckoned that since then the social democrats have resumed legal activities in Latvia.

One could not help noticing that the congress number was "20." That is the 20th. Why not the first?

It has a prehistory, apparently. Informal organizations have long talked of creating an alternative force to the Communist Party. Variants have been proposed and the most impatient "informals" have actually created a few entities, called parties: "Latvian Rebirth," "Christian Democratic"... But none of this was any good, some thought. Now, social democracy—that is just the ticket! It has a history and it is an influential force in present-day political processes in Europe. The nationalities aspect is of considerable importance here. The traditions of the social democratic movement are long-established in Latvia. Yan Raynis was a member of the party, while Bruns Kalninsh, a Latvian now living in Sweden, who is much talked and written about in the republic, is honorary chairman of the Socialist International....

So the action group, headed by Latvian People's Front activist V. Shteyn, evidently decided to gamble on the social democrats' popularity. Three representatives of the coordinating council went on a voyage across the sea to the "father" of the Latvian social democrats and there, at the foreign committee, performed the act of joining the LSDP. It provided a formal excuse for launching organizational work to "resurrect" the party in the homeland.

The last LSDP congress was in Latvia in 1934. Then, as is known, there was a coup, led by Karlis Ulmanis, and many social democrats subsequently fell foul of Stalin's repressions. As a result social democracy ceased to exist. But the rapidly developing perestroyka processes in the Baltic made some people remember the social democrats' ideas and turn to them, and the entire course of preparations for the congress of the rebirth of the party was, it has to be said, rather successful, except for one slight flaw, perhaps. Not long before the "big turnout" in Yurmala several firearms were found in the apartment of a member of the party—one of those, moreover, who had been overseas.

The media, though, were quick to reassure the public. There was no connection between the weapons and the foreign trip. The weapons were old, from the war. But the fact remains—an investigation is taking place....

The Yurmala congress adopted the party's program tenets and a whole series of resolutions. Here is an explanation of the LSDP's mission from Egils Grinkis, a Yurmala Committee activist:

"The social democrats' aim is the creation of a democratic society, freedom, equality, and solidarity of all people, and their harmonious development. Whereas conservatives seek freedom at the expense of equality and solidarity and communists seek equality at the expense of freedom amd solidarity, the social democrats try to find an harmonious balance between all these components....

But judging by a number of speeches at the congress, the USSR Armed Forces clearly do not fit into this "harmony." Time and again the bulk of the responsibility for the troubles and misfortunes currently afflicting the republic was placed at their door. According to delegate Lazdukalns, the Soviet Army is among those responsible for the "genocide" of the Livonians in Latvia, because it "set up a military base on their historic territory." There was a frenzied attack on the military by deputy E. Ozols for "keeping its ships and submarines in the ice-free part," thus "preventing foreign currency from being earned for an independent Lativa."

The congress also adopted a special resolution on alternative service, which basically says that the present wording in the Latvian SSR Constitution concerning alternative service is allegedly inadequate in that it proposes alternative service only for young men who have religious or pacifist views. In the delegates' view, this list should be augmented and alternative service extended to those who cannot serve in the army "because of ideological beliefs."

There is also a Russian section in the LSDP. Its representatives, B. Novikov and Ya. Briskin, addressed the congress. The latter's speech, for example, abounded in expressions like: "The wolf's ears of dictatorship are seen protruding from the Politburo," "The one-party system is the sacred cow of totalitarianism"

All these and other "references" were applauded by the congress delegates.

Time will tell what part the new political entity will play in the processes currently taking place in the republic. But it is my profound belief that there were enough of the factors that are currently creating instability in the republic and pushing its society toward a split.

Estonian Party Said Likely To Cede Power

AU0812111489 Paris AFP in English 1048 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] MOSCOW, Dec 8 (AFP) Estonia is likely to follow Lithuania's example and abolish the Communist Party's constitutional monopoly on power, a local radio journalist said Friday.

Harri Tiido, reached by telephone, said the Estonian Communist Party's ideologue Mikk Tiitma had announced that a majority on the Central Committee favoured an Estonian parliament's decision to present a bill abolishing the article giving the party the right to rule.

"Mr. Tiitma added that the Central Committee did not feel it had the moral right to take the decision itself, which belongs to the Estonian people".

The parliament of the Baltic republic of Lithuania voted on Thursday to scrap the party's constitutional right to rule in favour of a multi-party system.

Before its next session on January 8, Estonia's Supreme Soviet (parliament) will publish a draft constitution in the local press without the article affirming the party's leading role, Mr. Tiido said.

He said parliament would then consult the people, although it had not indicated what form this consultation would take "whether by referendum or an official opinion poll."

The Communist Party daily PRAVDA on Friday indicated for the first time that Article Six of the Soviet Constitution, which enshrines the party's domination of politics, might eventually be abolished.

In an editorial the paper said: "Any constitutional provision, including Article Six is "open to reconsideration, amendment or even abrogation".

Estonian Central Committee Holds Plenum

LD0712191489 Moscow TASS in English 1718 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Tallinn December 7 ETA-TASS—The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee held a plenary meeting in Tallinn today.

Estonian Communist Party chief Vayno Vyalyas delivered a report, in which he assessed the situation in the republic, the alignment of political forces mass movements in the republic.

During debates on the report members of the Central Committee expressed various viewpoints on the political situation in Estonia and spoke about crisis phenomena and the need to democratise the party and its platform for elections to local governing councils and the Estonian Supreme Soviet.

The plenary meeting has adopted a resolution.

It was also decided to convene the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Estonia in March 1990.

The plenum will continue its work on December 26.

Estonians Pass Land, Government Laws

PM0712144389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Dec 89 Second Edition p 2

[ESTONIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY-TASS report under the general headline: "At Sessions in Union Republics"]

[Text] Tallinn, 6 Dec—The 13th Session of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, continued here today. This time the central issue on the agenda was the third reading and adoption of the Estonian SSR Law on Peasant Holdings. The draft of this law was presented for popular discussion in the summer. It stipulates that peasant holdings, together with state and cooperative farms, are the basic links of agricultural production. As an economically independent producer, the peasant himself determines the direction of his activity, the volume and structure of production, and the volume of sale of output. Land is made available to the peasant to use for as long as he wants and, under the corresponding state act, includes the right of inheritance. After a discussion and the inclusion of a number of amendments, the Estonian SSR Law on Peasant Holdings was adopted by an overwhelming majority.

Deputies also passed the Estonian SSR Law on the Government of the Estonian SSR, which defines the new structure of executive authority in Estonia.

A series of draft laws was given their first reading. They included the draft Estonian SSR Law on Immigration. According to the draft, the law is to come into effect 1 January 1990. "This law does not have retroactive force"—Article 26 of the draft states. This means that the restrictions it envisages do not apply to anyone already living in Estonia.

The session also discussed other issues.

Estonian Election Boycott Call Deplored

PM0712120389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Dec 89 Second Edition p 2

[Report by unnamed own correspondent: "Boycott?"]

[Text] Tallinn—The election campaign in Estonia is in full swing. The radiant smiles of prospective representatives of the people beam down from placards. Meetings, discussions, and political gatherings are arranged here and there. Only a few days remain until 10 December, when voters will exercise their vote and determine the composition of the local government organs.

But why is the election campaign in Tallinn accompanied not only by democratic enthusiasm but also by a certain pessimism, edginess, and sometimes mistrust of the not-yet-elected deputies?

There are quite a few reasons for this. I would first remind readers that the republic Law on Elections still retains the 5-year residential qualification for candidate local soviet deputies—contrary to the USSR Constitution. One-fourth of the contenders for deputy mandates in Tallinn, for example, were simply not included on the candidate list for this reason. In the course of the campaign statements are being broadcast by some leaders of sociopolitical organizations which sometimes can only be seen as blatantly separatist and nationalist.

One can, of course, approach the election campaign in different ways and regard the political realities in different ways. But how is one to regard the fact that leaflets beginning with the words "Read and discuss with comrades!" have been distributed in Tallinn in recent days Interdvizheniye, which has issued these propaganda items, has called on its supporters to boycott the local soviet elections, no less.

I would add for sake of clarity that this serves a quite specific goal, namely the creation of alternative organs of power. The leaders of Interdvizheniye and the United Labor Collective Council have urged this on the Russian-speaking population. The reason? The whole problem here is that the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] has ignored the USSR Constitution with a number of legislative acts. And that being so, these organizations have decided that republic laws are not mandatory and that they should set up their own soviets.

A brief digression is called for here. The point is that the activists of the Interdvizheniye and the United Labor Collective Council are far from being original. The idea of setting up alternative organs of power was first proposed in Estonia by national radicals—a number of political groupings demanding the full restoration of the republic's independence. Citizens' committees have been set up for this purpose, and it is even planned to hold an Estonian congress in the future. But what is characteristic here is that, while refusing in their rhetoric to recognize the present organs of power, the ultraradicals have nevertheless waged a desperate struggle to get their representatives elected to the organs of soviet power. They have understood the value and the importance of words uttered from the parliamentary rostrum. But the leaders of Interdvizheniye and the United Labor Collective Council, who are, moreover, communists and who constantly stress their influence among a certain section of the Communist Party, are declaring an election boycott.

What is this—a pose that is a step away from open defeatism? In any event, the result of this move is that 20 candidate deputies in Tallinn have refused to stand even after being officially registered thanks to public support.

The election boycott tactics have not been adopted by many party members. A plenum of the Kalininsky Rayon party committee was held in that leading industrial district of Tallinn the other day. It took the responsible decision to launch an election campaign with all speed, extending all-around support to communist candidates in the local soviet elections. A statement assessing the sociopolitical situation was adopted.

The Kalininskiy Rayon party members' statement reads: "The apparatus of the United Labor Collective Council together with the leaders of Interdvizheniye...want to cover the city with mutlicolored leaflets on the need to boycott the elections. This is effectively an appeal to labor collectives to voluntarily hand over power for 5 years and accept the abject position of constantly being a supplicant."

It goes on to provide an impartial assessment of the actions of those communists who are now resorting to another extreme—publicly advocating Estonia's withdrawal from the USSR. The statement ends with the words: "Real improvements in the economy and stability are required, as well as a sense of confidence in the future for every inhabitant of the republic, irrespective of nationality. This will depend to a crucial extent on whom and on which forces —progressive and commonsensical or extremist and conservative—the people vote for."

Yes, the people and ordinary folk will indeed have the last say here. They need—whatever nationality they may be—a representative and a champion of their interests in the Estonian local soviets. So should anyone now be throwing in the towel...?

Open Separatism Rife in Estonia

PM0712155589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Dec 89 First Edition p 4

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel S. Pashayev report: "Estonia: Political Review. Confrontation"]

[Text] On my return from my latest tour of duty in Tallinn, I could not help feeling strange. As if I had visited not one but two different cities simultaneously. In the first, an ancient, cozy, peaceful city, people had not forgotten how to smile, rejoice in the snowy winter, and give one another flowers. In the second, a nervous city, excited by rumor and conjecture and cut off by an invisible wall of mistrust and alienation, people gather for large rallies, make hot-tempered statements, publish far-reaching political programs, argue until they are hoarse, and do not listen to one another. Yet it is the same city. And the people are the same...

What is happening in Estonia, what events and what processes have produced such striking changes of late in the usually restrained and calm people of Tallinn, who are not inclined to emotional outbursts? Let me be blunt and say that there are many reasons. Take the recent November session of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, whose decisions are still the center of close attention and are being subjected to analysis and comment. The long "echo" of this session is not surprising if you recall that one of the points on its agenda was the question "On the Historical and Legal Assessment of the Events in Estonia in 1940."

The draft document prepared by the relevant standing commissions proposed describing the USSR's actions toward the Estonian republic solely as aggression, military occupation, and annexation. It also assessed the election to the state Duma in an equally unequivocal manner: The election was held in violation of existing laws and for that reason the parliament was illegal and not empowered to adopt decisions changing Estonia's state status. The conclusion was that all the treaties of 1939-1940 are "juridically worthless" and Estonia's incorporation in the USSR is illegal.

A number of deputies disagreed with this interpretation of the events of 40 years ago. While condemning the political practice of Stalin's diplomacy and its pressure on the government of the Estonian republic and noting that the material collected by scientists is certainly useful for clarifying historical truth, the members of the "Equal Rights" group of deputies said at the same time that they do not believe the material to be exhaustive and sufficient. In their view, the question is too complex and it is wrong to interpret it so straightforwardly, to deny the reality of the revolutionary situation in Estonia at the time, and to ignore the force and scope of the worker movement. Certainly, it is nothing but one-sidedness to rely in your conclusions solely on local archive data, without analyzing the data stored in the Moscow archives.

That is why an appeal was also voiced at the session, urging deputies to take their time over the resolution and to wait for the conclusions drawn by the commission set up at the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies to assess these events. When this proposal was rejected, the confrontation between parliamentarians developed into a sharp conflict. Mindful of the possible pernicious consequences of a hasty decision for the fate of the peoples and perestroyka in the country, 56 deputies announced their refusal to participate in the session's further work and walked out of the conference hall. The voting took place without them. The resolution was adopted by 188 votes, with 1 person voting against and 4 abstentions.

Was the decision made by the members of the group of deputies the optimum decision in this situation?

"I believe that parliament is not the place for inflaming passions," Deputy Tomas Leyto noted on this score. "It does no one any good, because passions are greatly amplified once they spill beyond the walls of the conference hall."

Pavel Panfilov, his colleague from the republic's Supreme Soviet, has another viewpoint:

"In our work over the last 2 years we tried everything in our desire to ensure that our opinions were considered. We voted against decisions and submitted proposals. If you will recall, we achieved no substantial results in this way. We submitted a proposal regarding the creation of a mechanism to take into account the opinions of the parliamentary minority. Our proposals were not fully taken into account. At the last sitting, when we were discussing the draft Law on Elections to Local Soviets, we submitted a compromise proposal concerning residence qualifications. And the Russian-speaking deputies used another method to draw attention to themselves—we then refused to take part in the voting. Our walkout from the session was the next stage..."

Need it be said that what happened only fueled passions still further and prompted new rallies expressing the idea that disregard for the opinion of the minority and the lack of parity in organs of power are in practice turning into unilateral diktat and are directly affecting the fundamental political and social interests and rights of the Russian-speaking population. In this situation calls for a boycott of the elections to local organs of power, scheduled for 10 December, have rung out with renewed force. It must be said that they have met with support. This was also helped by the fact that the republic's Supreme Soviet simply failed to bring a number of discriminatory articles of the Law "On Elections to Local Soviets of People's Deputies in the Estonian SSR" into line with the USSR Constitution. Thus disregarding the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 16 August 1989. Just as, moreover, they disregarded the demands of the striking enterprise collectives in August, which suspended the political strike for the duration of talks between the Estonian SSR Government and the republic strike committee council.

People are concerned that the boundaries of electoral wards have been gerrymandered and that the new system of vote-counting proposed by R. Taagepera, professor of political science at the University of California, is extremely confused. Many voters are wondering whether the outcome of the election is not therefore a foregone conclusion.

"The abrogation of the State Duma Declaration of 1940, the talk of occupation, and the election dodges must all be viewed as a package," one of my local journalist colleagues noted. "This all represents a trump card in the hands of those who are trying to isolate the Russian-speaking section of the population and ultimately wrest the republic out of the union."

Many people share this view. After all, today the plans for Estonia's secession from the USSR are not concealed, but are, on the contrary, advertised, propagandized, and virtually presented as the only alternative to stagnation. You must not think that it is only radicals from the Estonian National Independence Party [ENIP] who have been successful in this. These people made no secret of their aims even before. But the rapid political metamorphosis which has taken place with the Estonian People's Front, which at one time proclaimed undoubted support for and commitment to the changes initiated in society by the CPSU, is indicative. Of course, People's Front leaders also voiced separatist ideas in the past from time to time. But the detailed, specific program, which now includes many ideas that this movement's members would have indignantly disowned in the recent past, has been made public only recently.

"The cornerstone of the People's Front election platform," this document says, "is the phased transition from the status of a sovereign union republic within the Soviet Union to the status of an allied state independent of the Soviet Union, and the further aim is to become an independent state in a demilitarized neutral Balto-Scandia."

It notes with clear satisfaction that of late the "People's Front has succeeded in weakening the monopoly of party power and the strength of political and economic pressure on the lower echelons from above, thus ensuring the open activity of all other political forces in Estonia." The task now is to assume the role of ship's captain. The course is against socialism and the soviets as a type of power.

The active process of the consolidation of separatist forces and the coordination and harmonization of their efforts confirms a fact that is already obvious to many people: the fact that it is no coincidence that political masks have been discarded. The choice has been made, a stage has begun where there is no need to maneuver, don a disguise, and conceal one's true aims. What are they? What is to happen and when?

USSR People's Deputy Yulo Nugis, member of the country's Supreme Soviet, answered these questions frankly in MOLODEZH ESTONII.

"...The picture of the future is clear—our time has come. A couple of months ago we could not have foreseen the events that have taken place in Eastern Europe. At the same time we understand what will happen in the Soviet Union next year. That is, a collapse..."

The separation strategy formulated by the member of the union parliament in this interview is reminiscent of a directive. All uyezd and volost elders, mayors, and deputies elected to local self-management organs in December must be assembled ("This will constitute in effect true representation of the Estonian people. The decision adopted there will fully accord with the features of a referendum. There is no doubt what will be decided there"). An Estonian Congress must be assembled straight after (the ENIP and its allies came up with the idea of convening this a year ago), with the same subject on the agenda. Last, in March the republic's Supreme Soviet must proclaim "to all mankind that we who never entered the Soviet Union are now the Estonian republic."

What will happen to USSR People's Deputy Nugis after this? "I will remain a resident of Estonia, since foreign citizens will obviously be barred from the USSR Supreme Soviet. When I speak about all this," he could not restrain himself, "I feel very lighthearted. We have no other choice. There will be no other time for us."

Yulo Nugis is, of course, in a hurry. Not everyone in Estonia thinks as he does and not everyone is delighted by his plans. Although Nugis does of course have his supporters. Quite a few of them. Like him, they reacted with delight to the fact that the introduction of Soviet troops, which was carried out in complete accordance with the universally recognized pact on mutual assistance between the USSR and the Estonian republic, has been deemed to be an occupation. Although during the introduction of the troops not only was not a single shot heard but also no opposition was recorded. Yet "occupation"—let us glance in the dictionary—is precisely the forcible occupation by one state's armed forces of another state's territory.

However, details are not the point. It is the fact that is important. The historical and legal assessment has already been cited. In particular, by those people who are urging young people to refuse to be drafted into the USSR Armed Forces. Literally a few days ago a group of hooligan informals organized a scandalous uproar outside the Pyarnu City Military Commissariat during the departure of draftees. The young guys were admonished, shamed, and grabbed by the hand. When this did not help, empty bottles and lumps of ice flew through the windows of the military commissariat. Estonian SSR Deputy Prosecutor Yu. Kazesalu had to explain in the press that a law remains in force until it is rescinded. But what do the demands of the law mean to hooligans who have cast aside all restraint? It is a good thing that they did not get their hands on anything like the aerosol canisters containing the powerful poison "CS" which Seaman Ilves from the Estonian Maritime Steamship Company merchant fleet tried to smuggle into the USSR.

What is the way out, or is there any way out in the prevailing situation? I asked various people this question and heard various answers. But in one way or another they all had one thing in common: It is necessary to seek a balance of interests and make compromises. Diktat, obstinacy, categorical slogans, name-calling, and skirmishes are not part of the arsenal of democracy, they all damage perestroyka and the reasonable, well considered decisions which Estonians, Russians, and the representatives of any other nationality cannot do without. Sooner or later this has to be acknowledged. The sooner the better.

But there are not as yet any signs of a countermovement. Rather the reverse. "Estonia, you are standing on the threshold of a future rich in hope!"—the Estonian People's Front platform promises. "In conditions of a market economy... a situation may arise where there is surplus manpower," one speaker at the ENIP Congress warned. "The fate of the other peoples is resolved elsewhere," a second noted, discussing the "primacy of the indigenous nation." "Stop immigration from the Soviet Union and begin effective reemigration," a third dotted the "i's."

"People are being duped. Some by promises of happiness at someone else's expense, others by assurances that nothing threatens them," Sergey Petinov, deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR United Council of Labor Collectives [OSTK], said with a bitter smile. "But this cannot continue for long. It is easy to tag the OSTK, Intermovement, strike committee, veterans, and internationalists as chauvinists and stagnationists. But you have to reckon with the working class, which has created and is creating wealth in this land. Simply nothing will come of this. Life itself and the realities of economic laws will wreck such plans. 'Special conditions' are at present being created for Estonia within the federation. Estonia itself earns less than one-third of the hard currency it uses. Intraunion prices for its industrial commodities sometimes exceed world prices by a factor of 10-20. But the republic obtains fuel and energy raw materials from Siberia at prices which are lower by a factor of 3-7 than world prices. Unlike Russia, Estonia retains in its budget all the income tax and virtually all the turnover tax. Enterprises under union jurisdiction also make an extremely significant contribution, and this will increase still further as of next year. But if it is a matter of principle, the economic imbalance will have to be put to rights and the question of transferring taxes to another state's budget will vanish. Unless we learn to live together, we will live side by side."

Flicking through a file of copies of SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA later, I found an interview with Tunne Kelama, member of the ENIP leadership. Speaking about the future of the Russian-speaking population in the event of Estonia's secession from the USSR, he voiced the following opinion: "In seeking a situation where the indigenous people—the Estonians—remain in the majority on their native soil, we state that it is inadmissible for citizens of other states to be compelled to leave Estonia by forcible methods. Everything must be resolved peacefully..." "Peacefully," in the view of ENIP functionaries, "merely" means hundreds of thousands of reemigrants, since only "100,000 Russians living in Estonia have a legitimate right to receive citizenship of the Estonian republic, that is, their parents were citizens of the Estonian republic."

Are these plans destined to be realized? I do not know, but indirect reemigration from Tallinn is already taking place. Russian kids from the Tallinn No 3 Children's Home, who were taken east, to Russian-speaking areas of the republic, were the first to be evacuated. Despite protests from the public and the teaching collective, one group of 36 children from the home was sent to Kokhtla-Yarve early in the morning of 24 November, separating brothers and sisters. A second group was scheduled to leave for Narva immediately after. This "operation" is being carried out on the outwardly plausible pretext that the building is in need of repairs. But, judging by the fact that the authorities categorically refused to resettle the children in a neighboring half-empty kindergarten for Estonian children, there are no guarantees that the girls and boys will meet again in their familiar home. Not at any rate the senior pupils, who will soon receive passports and be "legally" deprived of a Tallinn residence permit.

I would very much like to believe that this is a misunderstanding and not just another brick deliberately placed in the wall of confrontation.

Tallinn Citizens' Committee Profiled

90UN0242A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 20 Oct 89 p 3

[Interview with Khenn Sarv, member of the Tallinn City Estonian Citizens' Committee and subchairman of the Tallinn Society for the Protection of Monuments to Antiquity, conducted by V. Akimov: "'We Will Definitely Take Part in the Elections'"]

[Text] [Sarv] People who are on the committees will nominate candidates for people's deputies and will agitate on their behalf. In other occupied countries the local populace takes part in elections also. But it definitely needs to be observed here that for us, the present elections are not the main thing. We realize that organs of local self-administration, however well they are elected, nonetheless have their limits of competence. Only the people themselves, however, and not bodies elected by them, may determine the future of Estonia. The citizens' committees are now involved precisely in registering citizens of the Estonian Republic and those who wish to obtain this citizenship. And making preparations for a congress of Estonian citizens, which will discuss the future of the republic.

[Akimov] How does it appear to your fellow thinkers?

[Sarv] It should primarily be a sovereign, democratic, law-based state. The experience which society has accumulated in the past year has shown that the Sovereignty Declaration adopted at the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet suffers from at least one most appreciable defect: it fails to take political realities into account. And these are: as part of a large state (Estonia is a part of the USSR) Estonia can hardly become independent, this process being too much attended by great difficulties. But a state which has in the past had its own statehood will be able to restore its independence more easily.

[Akimov] Does this mean that the building of a democratic state in Estonia is connected with recognizing as illegitimate the laws on the republic's incorporation in the Soviet Union in 1940?

[Sarv] Yes. However, it is necessary not only to recognize the occupation and annexation of the Estonian Republic, but also to have done with them. Simple recognition of facts which are common knowledge could be seen merely as a propaganda stunt. The legal conclusions need to be drawn. After the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet has recognized (and this necessarily has to happen sooner or later) as unlawful the decisions adopted in 1940, an internationally unusual situation will take shape: on the one hand, the Estonian Republic will remain a part of the USSR, on the other hand, it will be independent. And this situation will have to be discussed in the course of an international conference, whose participants will have to be the parties concerned—the USSR, the major Western powers, representatives of adjacent states and the ESSR Government. But the main and obligatory condition of the conference will have to be that its participants are legally, properly elected representatives of the Estonian people, that is, representatives of those who were living in the Estonian Republic prior to June 1940. It would be a good thing were these negotiations simultaneously to decide the fate of all three Baltic republics—Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia—inasmuch as their incorporation in the USSR occurred at that time by a single script. There is a precedent for such international conferences in world practice—it was thus that the fate of Austria, whose independence was restored 10 years after the war, was formally decided.

[Akimov] Consequently, for the citizens' committees, the model of a future Estonia is a republic of the 1920's-1940's model?

[Sarv] It would be idiotic to think that we want to return to 1940. We have no wish to smash the computers and demolish the television tower. We wish to restore Estonia's independence in the present international situation. Our problems will not be resolved by Moscow. They can be resolved only by the Estonian people. What our children will say about us in the future—this is the main thought which should be uniting all democratic forces in this crisis situation. If the political situation in the republic is viewed broadly, it seems to me two principal directions have now been defined: the first is struggling for Estonia's independence, the second, extirpating any gravitation toward an independent interpretation of history and development prospects. And, on the broad reckoning, I believe, the second direction—whose purpose is in every way to keep Estonia within the USSR—is already out of time and is conservative even in the Soviet meaning of this word.

[Akimov] Very well then, the Estonian Republic has restored its independence, and those who lived here prior to 1940 and their descendants have citizenship. What about the hundreds of thousands who have come to Estonia since the war?

[Sarv] I understand that for readers of your newspaper this is today the main issue. I shall try to answer it in the greatest detail. We believe that all those who have come here in recent decades may conditionally be divided into three groups. The first, the smallest, is composed of people who came here with the knowledge of the occupying forces. I believe that they may be counted on the fingers of one hand. The second, the largest group, is composed of those who came to Estonia from some other region of the Soviet Union. Intending to find work here, they gave little thought to how local practices, customs and morals differed from, say, the morals of other regions of the USSR and simply did not anticipate the existence of any difference. And it was only *in situ*, having lived for some time here, that they realized that they were in another home different from that to which they were accustomed. And third and finally—also a very sizable group of people—they came here clearly aware in advance and understanding that they were going to another country. And, considering this, they learned the language and have taken part in cultural life and other spheres. I wish to emphasize particularly that it is not important how much time a person has spent in our republic, the main thing is how he himself recognizes his situation here. I believe that when Estonia restores its independence, some of the newcomers will themselves understand that this is now a different state and that if living conditions here are unacceptable to them, they will themselves leave for their native parts. I do not know how many of such people there will be and I do not believe that it is necessary to adopt any special measures to ensure that this number will be greater or smaller. That is, I emphasize, it is a question of a voluntary decision by the people themselves. Others who have lived here for quite a time and who consider themselves inhabitants of Estonia will acquire citizenship of the Estonian Republic, which will provide not simply declaratively but obligatorily for mutual rights and duties. There will, of course, be a third group of people for whom citizenship in the Estonian Republic is not some obligatory condition of their residence here. There are a multitude of such people in the world's democratic countries. You could cite to your heart's content examples of a person living and working and prospering in the United States or Sweden, say, who is not a citizen of that country. If, let us assume, some of these people are citizens of the USSR, very well, there is nothing bad about this. The main thing is the law-based state which we wish to build, and everything must be legally precisely defined.

[Akimov] Thus you maintain that the purpose of the activity of the citizens' committees is not the expulsion of Russians from Estonia?

[Sarv] Of course not. A people which was once taken by whole trains to Siberia cannot even to a minimal extent wish such a fate on anyone else. We understand full well that not only Estonians, but all peoples of the country have fallen victim to a system which takes no account of people and which mixes them up as if in a blender to do away with national differences. It may even be said that the Estonian people have, if only a few, some advantages over the Russians in this respect—we can feel good in our small country, on our historical territory. It is worse for the Russians. The Russian Federation has imbibed a multitude of other peoples, and it is most likely not all that comfortable for the Russian individual even in Russia when millions of people of other nationalities do not feel free. And if we recognize this all together, at the next twist of the spiral of social development small new friendly states could emerge in Europe and Asia, and the system of these states would be many times more powerful than the Soviet Union, which was built by power methods.

[Akimov] What is the citizens' committees' attitude toward the Communist Party?

[Sarv] Negative to a certain extent. And this is why: In power today is the same party which governed in Russia in the 1930's, 1940's and 1950's. The crimes which it committed in this period have not been condemned, and the Party has as yet to repent voluntarily of them. And the Party is even heading perestroyka today precisely because it does not wish to share its immense power with others. Positive processes are currently taking place in this area in Hungary, where the Communist Party has essentially been disbanded, and in Poland, where the Communist Party is no longer the governing party. I believe that when the Estonian Communist Party considers itself the an equal political force with all the rest, there will be a different attitude toward it. But as long as the party says: Yes, we have made history with tremendous mistakes, but are now "the mind, honor and conscience of our era," there can be no good attitude toward it.

[Akimov] Still, let us return to the impending elections. Describe in more detail how you intend to participate in the election campaign.

[Sarv] As I have already said, the members of the citizens' committees will take part in the elections, like all other voters. I myself will run and hope to be elected to the Tallinn City Soviet. The local self-administering authorities could render us great assistance in the preparation of the Congress of Citizens of the Estonian Republic. I am often asked whether I am not afraid of running in Pelgulinna (I have lived there for the past 6 years), there being, after all, very many Russians in this district. No, I am not afraid, inasmuch as I believe that if people are told everything honestly and candidly, it is not important in what language this is expressed. Honesty and candor are categories which are above language, above nationality. We are building our home today—this needs to be clearly understood—not for ourselves but for our children, and it is them we need to remember primarily.

Draft Document on Estonian Self-Management

First Part

904A0066A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 19 Sep 89 pp 2-3

[First part of document by the Estonian State Planning Committee's Estonian Self-Management Problems Council under the rubric "Republic Economic Accountability: Making Estonian Self-Management a Reality": "Preparatory Stage (September-December 1989)"]

[Text]

1. Aims, Conducive Factors, Braking Mechanism

The first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in its decree afforded the Baltic republics an opportunity to reorganize their economy on the basis of new, financially autonomy principles. Preparatory work is underway. It is necessary today in connection therewith to evaluate objectively the current situation and take a look at the possibilities and difficulties of IME [Estonian self-management].

Aims

It is essential at the preparatory stage to create the conditions for a solution to the crisis situation in the social life and economy of the republic. There should be no harboring of illusions regarding the future of Estonia, it being necessary with the aid of changes in investment policy, the financial and banking system, commodity exchange, pricing, management, and so forth to create the prerequisites for all sectors of the republic's economy to emerge from the crisis.

The aim of the preparatory stage is to design a new viable management mechanism and, with the aid of certain political and economic decisions, try to engage it even now. It is necessary here to formulate several strategic models making it possible to carry out actively the transition to economic accountability, depending on this political condition or the other.

It is necessary at the preparatory stage to ascertain both the social groups which support IME and those which, by virtue of departmental ambition or personal interest, are opposed to economic accountability. The broadest possible social base is essential for IME; and all progressively thinking people and working collectives should be incorporated in its realization.

Factors Conducive to Financially Autonomous Reform

The process of transition to economic accountability has been underway for quite some time now. This enables us to determine the factors which are conducive to it and which will be conducive to it in the future.

1. IME—Question of Survival

The inhabitants of Estonia have understood and recognized that only the republic's full economic independence will help impede the process of deterioration of the republic's economy. There is no alternative. Only economic accountability will in time help surmount mismanagement in all its manifestations.

2. Previous Failures Are Obvious Today

The semi-reforms and half-completed experiments conducted in the USSR, including Estonia, have produced no marked results. Nothing more is to be expected of the economy with its present structure. Everyone understands that unless radical steps are taken today, it will get even worse. Our life is not that brilliant, and our consumer optimism is close to zero. All these are psychological prerequisites of reform, even if there are mistakes and failures in its implementation. 3. Horizons Have Become Wider

In the past several years our ideas about the world have broadened considerably. We have become acquainted with the principles of the market economy and acquired certain experience of relations with Western partners which has enriched our practice of cooperation with partners in the East. Potential for a synthesis of these relations and our mediation between the markets of East and West is being built up.

The West has an interest in participation in our economy. But we understand full well that the motives of this interest by our overseas partners are prompted by the vast, practically insatiable Eastern market. Western businessmen have an interest in Estonia's relations with the Eastern economic regions being as good-neighborly as possible.

4. People Have Not Lost Enterprise and Remember the Market Economy

The memory with us of how our predecessors coped very successfully with the market economy is still fresh. Obviously, this is the principal difference between the indigenous inhabitants of Estonia and the newcomers. The indigenous inhabitants have no fear of a self-regulating economy. It is hoped that enterprise has not vanished either.

5. We Have Experience of Financially Autonomous Thinking

Since September 1987, when the newspaper EDAZI published the proposal concerning the republic's transition to economic accountability, the progressive part of the population of the republic has been attending a voluntary school, as they say, of financially autonomous thinking. The majority of us have tried to one extent or another to be au courant with the elaboration of the IME concept, contributed to this as far as possible, and endeavored to build its relationships at the work place in the new manner.

6. Support for the Idea of Economic Accountability Is Growing in the Country

In our favor is the growing support for economic accountability in other regions of the USSR. Initially we were supported by Lithuania and Latvia and then Belorussia and now by Georgia and other regions endeavoring to move onto the financially autonomous path.

It is increasingly obvious that the country as a whole and its progressive regions support our initiative. Albeit small, there have already been changes. They are visible.

7. The Enterprise Is the Flywheel of Economic Accountability

For the first stage of transition to IME it is important to determine the components which will impart the first impetus to the entire subsequent process. These components could only be the enterprises. For them, economic accountability is a form of natural existence; and given favorable conditions, they will inevitably aspire to economic accountability.

It is necessary to assist enterprises' transition to economic accountability and to facilitate it. The enterprises must have assurances of support for their initiatives, and enterprising collectives must have equal conditions. The work force must be sure that its economic successes will not be reduced to nothing by an ill-conceived taxation policy. Strong, soundly operating firms are needed for IME.

The success of IME will largely depend on how the state engages the enterprise: with regard for the interests of the republic or contrary to them. How IME starts will depend on the conditions created for the enterprises.

Factors Hampering Implementation of Financially Autonomous Reform (Braking Mechanism)

1. Instability of the Political Situation

In order to realize IME we need to fundamentally change economic relations, but they resonate in the social and political spheres of society (both in the republic and in the country as a whole). The unstable, changeable political situation is complicating the progress of economic transformations and hampering a conscious orientation toward the future; that is, the adoption of decisions whose effect is embedded in the long term is essential.

2. Delay in Transition to IME

The most propitious situation for switching on financially autonomous processes was in the fall of 1988 and at the start of 1989. Society's readiness for transformations in Estonia was obvious. IME had no competitors.

Now, a year later, when we are still talking about the preparatory stage, the intensity of expectation has abated. Some people are losing faith in the possibility of radical transformations and are seeking different ways of realizing their ideals. IME is behind both economically and politically, and this is complicating its implementation.

3. Our Aims Are Being Interpreted From the Standpoints of 1918

Parallels with the events of 1918 are preventing Moscow and local departments from understanding our present hopes. Such a comparison is invalid; the economic situation today is totally different. At that time the Western market was more propitious, the market mechanism of the economy was preserved, and the differences in levels of development with Western countries were fewer. The charges being leveled at IME bear the shadow of events from which we are separated by 70 years. It transpires from our opponents' logic that the supporters of radical transformations are endeavoring to recreate the economic system of the bourgeois republic and sever economic relations with other regions of the USSR.

4. The Chaotic Nature and Inconsistency of the Initiatives

All-union decisions of recent years have constricted bureaucratic rule in economic processes somewhat (the state order, a second form of economic accountability enabling the enterprises to make freer use of the wage fund, the relative freedom of the cooperatives compared with the state enterprises and privileges for joint ventures have appeared). But all this is being implemented chaotically.

In different sectors of the economy the current all-union edicts allow of different possibilities for the new forms of activity. The field of activity of the small enterprises and joint ventures, for example, is wider than for the traditional enterprises. Enterprise possibilities and obligations are not balanced. Economic chaos is emerging, and the process of economic renewal is at times occurring without supervision.

Experiments being conducted at the level of individual departments attempting to grab as many privileges as possible for themselves in the perestroyka process are explosive for the balance and wholeness of the national economic complex.

5. Bureaucratic Cliches Are Being Slow To Disappear

Many high-ranking government officials and enterprise executives do not believe in the possibility of IME. In relations with Moscow, when it is necessary to defend republic economic accountability, they are inclined toward compromise, which in the present situation means disruption intensifying the contradictions within the republic.

Some people (department representatives included) called upon to put IME into practice have attuned themselves in advance to half-baked results and have reconciled themselves to the idea that everything (IME also) needs to be solicited from Moscow and they obtain in response to their requests not what was asked for, but what is given.

6. Scarcity of Information Concerning IME

The fact that since early this spring the subject of economic accountability has disappeared from the field of vision of the republic community and that the center of debate thereon has shifted to Moscow has had an unpropitious effect on IME. The public cannot monitor the progress of work on IME.

7. Alarms and Misgivings

The inhabitants of Estonia do not have an entirely clear idea of what economic accountability will "cost" different social groups. Due to this, each of them is painting its own picture of a future financially autonomous Estonia. This disarticulated incompleteness has been the cause of the fear of the republic's Russian population (of union enterprises workers, in the main) that the plants will come under republic supercentralization, although the IME program affords the enterprises considerably greater independence than the current State Enterprise Act.

8. The Potential of a Financially Autonomous Economy Still Has To Be Restored

The economic relations of various regions of the USSR which have taken shape in centralized manner over decades have not always been logical and rational. The system of the centralized allocation of capital precluding horizontal relations between manufacturers is complicating and making painful the process of the acquisition of independence. Many sectors simply lack specialists and do not have concepts of possible paths of their development. This is reducing the efficiency of such sectors appreciably.

9. Uncertainty of Social Safeguards

Discussion of the IME concept has shown how poor Estonia is and how much effort will be required from us to raise the people's well-being. Knowledge of current reality makes for a certain lack of confidence in the future of those whose income is wholly dependent on the state (pensioners, trainees, people working in the non-manufacturing sphere). Despite the fact that IME as a whole is oriented toward catering to the social protection of Estonia's inhabitants, it is essential to specify programs safeguarding a living wage for the transitional stage and provide for means for social programs of republic and local levels.

10. Factors of Time and Good Sense

Transition to IME means that we must develop a set of concepts, programs, and laws under conditions of a scarcity of time and experience as quickly as possible.

We need flexibility of action and we need operating centers for upgrading the progress of the reform, which will help correct possible mistakes in a democratic manner, also relying on feedback from public opinion.

2. New Economic Control Mechanism

A new system of economic control will be introduced in January 1990, which implies a change in the principles of the formation of republic and local budgets, a new taxation system, and innovations in monetary circulation, the banking system, and the principles of pricing, pay, and social benefit payments.

As far as the budget is concerned, a draft budget act declaring the separation of the republic and local budgets and determining their relationship, sources of revenue, and procedural rules of their formation, confirmation, and accountability has been drawn up. This September the bill will undergo expert appraisal in the Gosplan [State Planning Committee] and will be examined by the board and will be presented in November through the Council of Ministers for enactment by the republic Supreme Soviet. In September, Gosplan departments and administrations in conjunction with the pertinent departments will examine questions of the transfer of the expenditure items of the republic budget to the local budgets and the expediency of the abandonment of various subsidies. The Gosplan and its working groups will submit proposals pertaining to a draft republic budget for 1990 in regard to budget funds and the list of targeted capital investments. The structure of the budget as a whole is to improve thanks to the formation of such funds in and outside the republic budget and the purging of the budget of expenditure items which are not its prerogative and which are unnecessary. In October the new republic budget will be discussed and agreed on with various authorities, primarily in regard to budget expenditure. In November the draft republic budget will be examined by the government and published for nationwide discussion in order that it may be discussed in December and passed by the Supreme Soviet of the ESSR [Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic] with possible amendments.

This November the republic government is to enact a decree on financing the economy via targeted capital investment funds—the soviets and administrations disposing of funds will be confirmed by the republic Supreme Soviet's December session.

The Taxation Act is to undergo a similar procedure of coordination and confirmation. The bill will contain the fundamentals of taxation, a list of the types of taxes and the principles of their computation and also their correlation with budget revenue of various levels. It will also provide for penalties for tax evasion and concealment of income amounts. The results of the group's work on drafting the taxation bill will not agree in all things with the overall IME concept, and an alternative bill-drafting group was formed in this connection. The alternative taxation versions in coordination with the budget and the demand for the balance of its income and expenditure parts will be specified in October.

It is essential in October-November for the republic Ministry of Finance to draw up and submit for government approval tax forms and sets of instructions on how to complete them. The new taxation procedure presupposes the organization of a taxation service staffed with trained personnel, and a state tax inspectorate will, like other inspectorates, operate on the basis of the ESSR Control Act. The Gosplan is to submit the taxation service rules for confirmation by the republic government by the start of this December.

The bills, those for reorganization of the banking system included, should have been prepared prior to 1 October and in the course of the month should have undergone expert appraisal in the Gosplan so that, following their examination in the Council of Ministers, the republic Supreme Soviet may pass them in November. Work is already underway, in parallel with the drafting of the bills, on preparation for the reorganization of operating banks into commercial and credit banks; and questions of resources for the extension of credit are being studied. Considering the urgent need for reorganization of the banking system, the Gosplan, in parallel with the government working groups, has engaged alternative groups.

The pricing bill is ready and in September will undergo a series of expert appraisals, evaluation by an academic council; and critical legal study and will be examined in the Gosplan Board. The bill determines the procedure for the government's determination of prices and tariffs of the domestic market, pricing procedures in the corresponding republic service, and the procedure for the use of contract market prices. The Supreme Soviet will examine the bill this November.

The list of prices of imported goods and services and the procedure of the formation of the prices of basic necessities will have been prepared for centralized confirmation by the end of October. This applies merely to the predominant manufacturers and monopoly enterprises. The republic government will confirm the lists and procedural rules following enactment of the Prices Act.

The new Prices Act presupposes the organization of the corresponding republic service.

The drafts of legislation on an improvement of remuneration will be ready this September. They will reflect, in the main, the mechanism of remuneration at enterprises and in fiscal establishments. Questions of determination of the amount of wages will be wholly the prerogative of the enterprise. It is planned to enact the pertinent laws at the ESSR Supreme Soviet December session.

Synchronism of the Effect of Economic Regulators The proposal concerning the exclusion from the republic budget of subsidy amounts for transport, housing and municipal services, fuel, and farm products on the one hand reduces the tax burden on the population and the enterprises and, on the other, makes for an increase in the prices of the corresponding goods and services. Corresponding to this, however, there will be an increase in the wages of all categories of working people and payments from the social security funds. We must be prepared for an increase in the price of energy and raw material imported into the republic and of imported goods and services. All this will require the drafting of a compensation mechanism.

Second Part

904A0066B Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 22 Sep 89 p 3

[Second part of document by the Estonian State Planning Committee's Estonian Self-Management Problems Council under the rubric "Republic Economic Accountability: Making Estonian Self- Management a Reality": "Preparatory Stage (September-December 1989)"]

[Text]

3. Enterprise Development

At the preparatory stage IME is implementing important measures 1) pertaining to a strengthening of the independence of the enterprises, realization of their ownership rights, and equalization of production conditions, 2) restoration of the wholeness of the national economic complex, and 3) decentralization of the economy.

A number of bills (on the state enterprise, on the public enterprise, on the cooperative enterprise, and so forth), which will be expertly appraised this October and passed by the ESSR [Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet in November-December are being drafted for stimulation of the enterprises and improvement of ownership relations.

In the course of improvement of ownership relations a large part of hypertrophied state ownership will be transferred to the people in the form of public enterprises. Regulations governing the public enterprise have been drafted, are now undergoing expert appraisal, and will be submitted for nationwide discussion, and at the end of September, to the republic government for confirmation. In accordance with the regulations, public enterprises will be created 1) in the form of a delegation of the right of ownership, 2) a lease, and 3) in share-capital form. In its economic activity the public enterprise will be self-sufficient and independent in its choice of partners. The state order will not be introduced for the public enterprise, and the latter will sell its products independently in accordance with contracts concluded with the consumer. The state will control the public enterprise's economic activity via fiscal withholdings, licenses, and the terms of the agreement on the delegation of ownership. The conditions of supply and sales for them at the transitional stage will be introduced this October by a joint decree of the ESSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] and Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply]. The creation of the public enterprises will begin in November. Account will be taken here of the conditions of the transitional period, when it will be necessary to combine the new type of economic activity with the insufficiently changed mechanism of the economy.

The creation of share-capital companies will begin in November also, which will essentially be the next step on the path of the development of the enterprises and their release from administrative-command pressure. As distinct from the public enterprises where the state retains the status of primary proprietor, in the share-capital company the proprietor is the work force. Both enterprises and private persons may hold stock. Preparations for the creation of a stock market will begin at the end of the current year.

Redistribution of resources among enterprises operating under conditions of economic independence will cease this November by decree of the republic Council of Ministers; that is, compensation for the losses of unprofitable enterprises from centralized resources will cease. An unprofitable enterprise may count only on a short-term bank loan. If this produces no result, the enterprise will declare bankruptcy and go into liquidation, and its fixed capital will come under the hammer.

The status of the public enterprise or share-capital company is not accorded the enterprises which, due to the uniqueness of their functions, size, and scale of their share of the economy, it is expedient to preserve as state-owned enterprises. The temporary procedure of the activity of state enterprises, planning, supply, and sales will be confirmed for them by a republic government decree in November.

To restore the wholeness of the republic's national economic complex, the Estonian Gosplan submitted on 18 August this year to the appropriate union authority a proposal concerning the principles of the transfer of enterprises of union jurisdiction to republic jurisdiction. It is currently being examined by the central union authorities. In accordance therewith, the enterprises which have acquired independence will conclude with the union authorities agreements on cooperation in the sphere of new technology, supplies, sales, and such. It is important that the agreements concluded for 1990 in regard to the amounts of output, supplies, material and technical provision, currency taxes, and centralized capital investments remain unchanged, inasmuch as next year's plans have already been compiled. Subsequently the parties will undertake to develop in every way possible intrasectoral cooperation by way of direct production relations between enterprises. The comparatively small intra- republic market makes urgent the need for efficient integration and the development of cooperation with enterprises outside the republic. The principle according to which only the enterprises which are operating chiefly for the needs of the republic are incorporated primarily in the national economic complex is unacceptable to us. The principle of gradual transition affords enterprise management and the work force time to accustom themselves to the new management conditions and begin a creative search in the sphere of renovation of their activity.

Restoration of the wholeness of the national economic complex is a key issue of economic accountability, inasmuch as the republic's real sovereignty is impossible without economic filling, which is based on state ownership of the means of production.

Negotiations concerning the procedure for the change in the jurisdiction of enterprises and entire sectors (timber, wood-processing, the paper and pulp industry; rail, air, and sea transport; construction, power engineering, and the shale industry) will be held in September and October. In the wake of this, the transfer of the enterprises and balance-sharing deeds will be officially drawn up and the conversion of enterprises of union jurisdiction to public, state, or share-capital enterprises will begin. For enterprises which for some reason or other cannot leave union jurisdiction and become a part of the republic's national economic complex, special conditions of activity will be introduced by decision of the ESSR Supreme Soviet.

In order to decentralize and demonopolize the economy, it is contemplated this year to even transfer the majority of enterprise subdivisions (branches, shops, sections, departments) to the status of independent legal entities (enterprises). This will guarantee an influx of revenue into the budget of local self-management, improve regional development conditions, tie in economic activity with the local manpower, commodities, and service market, create new horizontal relations, and integrate the regions' economic activity. In September the ispolkom [executive committee] planning commissions will study the question with the head enterprises and subdivisions seeking independence and draw up tripartite records. As of this November, terms of favorable treatment and advantages for the shops and branches which resolve questions of independent work more promptly than others will be introduced by Council of Ministers decree for the subdivisions which have become independent.

Municipal Ownership Will Be Introduced

As of 1 January 1990 facilities of the social infrastructure, engineering-technical systems, public transport, and the state enterprises which chiefly serve the self-managing region will be transferred to the ownership of local self-management.

4. System of Protection of the Domestic Market

Checks (purchasing notes) will be introduced into circulation as of 1 January 1990. Inhabitants may, as they wish, receive part of their wages, pension, scholarship, or other fixed income in these notes. The actual amount paid out in checks will be determined monthly, depending on the quantities of commodity covered for this period. Commodities in increased demand will be sold by check. As the commodity supply improves, there will be an increase also in the proportion of the wages paid in checks; if, on the contrary, ther is a deterioration in the commodity market, the proportion of check payments will diminish. If the commodity backing of the ruble increases in 2 or 3 years to the requisite level, the need for checks will disappear, and only money will remain in circulation.

The Estonian Gosplan:

- as of 1 October will set up a Market Organization Commission, its duty being development of the principles of computation of the living wage (purchasing basket); that is, determination of the proportion of pensions, scholarships, wages, and so forth to be paid by check, and the current adjustment of quotas;
- prior to 1 December in conjunction with the Ministry of Trade will determine check commodity stocks (which commodities precisely will be sold only by check); and
- prior to 1 December will organize the printing of the necessary quantity of checks.

The ESSR Ministry of Trade will develop and introduce as of 1 January 1990 the labeling of the commodities of the check stocks and the procedure of their sale and registration and will provide for the training of sales personnel. It will organize a network of special stores or counters trading by check.

The Estonian Republic Bank will ensure that the republic's banking system is ready for check circulation and will draw up sets of instructions for the acceptance, storage, and recording of checks in the procedure stipulated for securities, and will provide also for the issuance of checks in precise accordance with the established quotas.

The introduction of quotas on commodity imports is envisaged.

Third Part

904A0066C Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 23 Sep 89 p 3

[Third part of document by the Estonian State Planning Committee's Estonian Self-Management Problems Council under the rubric "Republic Economic Accountability: Making Estonian Self- Management a Reality": "Preparatory Stage (September-December 1989)"]

[Text]

5. State Planning and Regulation of the National Economy

The scale of centralized planning will narrow. For the development of production and the better satisfaction of the population's requirements, the republic government, the ministries, and the local self-management authorities will employ levers of economic regulation. Relations with partners will be regulated on the basis of contracts.

In order to balance the economy, the Gosplan [State Planning Committee] will for the coming year draw up the production-consumption and import-export proportions regarding the most important resources and will, in conjunction with the Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] and the Ministry of Trade, determine import and export quotas, proceeding from the needs and possibilities of the national economy.

Priority state programs for the next few years will be determined with regard for actual resources. The expediency of current programs will be reviewed ahead of time. The programs will be realized thanks to the state budget and various sums of targeted capital.

The documents concerning the prospects for the development of Estonia's economy will be examined with regard for economic realities and, if necessary, adjusted. Important changes have been mapped out in the prospects for the development of power engineering and the shale complex and direct relations with other republics and foreign countries.

The conditions of indirect state regulation of the public enterprises and other new forms of production which are being set up will be stipulated.

The material "Principles of Planning of the National Economy" and "Regulations Governing the State Order" drafted by the IME Working Group have been submitted for expert examination and will be submitted at the end of September to the republic government.

In accordance with current procedure, the drafting of annual plans begins 9 or 10 months prior to the start of the new calendar year. The majority of enterprises already have plans for 1990 and have concluded business contracts with their partners. Given a change in the relations of jurisdiction of the union enterprises, their current economic relations will be enshrined in the records.

There will be a fundamental change in the status of the annual plan, the structure of the document, and the procedure of its examination by the ESSR Supreme Soviet.

Plan estimates will be submitted to the republic government by the end of this October and will then be presented for discussion to the ESSR Supreme Soviet standing commissions, after which they will be submitted to the Supreme Soviet's December session.

6. Horizontal Relations With Other Union Republics and Regions of the USSR

In order to establish economic relations with other union republics and regions, it is essential to build them on the principle of equivalence and mutual benefit. Hitherto relations between republics have been centralized: each republic has contributed its share to all-union stocks without regard for whether this has been profitable to it or not. The structure operated in accordance with prescriptions from above. Preparations for a gradual change in such relations began in the fall of 1989.

The "Commodity Exchange for 1990 and 1991-1995 Agreement" will be signed in October or November between the union government and the republic and it will record the gradual substitution for the principle of the centralized allocation of stocks by direct trading relations with other republics and regions and create the conditions for the development of horizontal relations (the possibility of using contracted prices, creating trading offices in other regions of the country, auctioning republic commodities, setting up commercial centers and small trading firms, and so forth).

A special organizational structure was already laid down in September: An Estonian SSR exchange fund for commodity exchange with the union republics and regions of the country. The fund will conclude agreements with other republics and regions for the exchange of products (not encompassed by centralized union funds) for the necessary production resources and consumer commodities. Commodities for the exchange fund will be purchased at contracted prices, and, if necessary, other incentives for an influx of commodities into the exchange fund will be employed. Order will be brought primarily to the system of purchases of agricultural products and foodstuffs. The fund's tasks will incorporate the elaboration of a strategy of exchange of commodity resources, formation of a system of commercial enterprise (including auctions, a commercial exchange, and so forth), the creation of an information bank of commodities and partners and the elaboration of the principles of a common market.

Study of the domestic market in regard to aspects of interest to us (the commodity- for-commodity exchange principle) will begin in September. A research center (Center for the Study of Business Conditions and Marketing) has been set up for this, and the creation of a whole system of small enterprises dealing with marketing is contemplated for the future. Following coordination with other republics, a network of Estonian offices will be created in them. Professional expert appraisal of the business contracts will be catered for.

The conditions of commodity exchange with other republics (both via the exchange fund and directly) will be drawn up and conveyed to the enterprises and organizations.

The long-term aim is the **creation of competitive wholesale trade** based on horizontal interrepublic relations. A search for opportunities for profitable capital investments in other republics for the creation of joint ventures, and so forth there is underway.

More attention will be paid to commodity exchange contracts and other forms of cooperation with Lithuania and Latvia (the Baltic common market project). Preliminary work in this area began at the Panevezhis interrepublic seminar in September.

7. Development of Foreign Economic Relations [subtitle]

The working group on the development of foreign relations is drafting legislative instruments in the sphere of the ESSR's import-export activity, an increase in currency resources, the efficient incorporation of the republic in the international division of labor, the industrial training of highly skilled specialists overseas, and the development of tourism. The draft legislative instruments will have been submitted by 1 October and, following the pertinent expert appraisal, will have been ratified prior to 1 December. The creation of a republic currency budget, the procedure of the sale of currency (including currency auctions), and the foundations of an information system servicing economic activity abroad will be provided for legislatively. The first currency auctions will take place in December.

Draft laws on quotas, licenses, and the registration of imports and exports of commodities have been devised for the protection of natural resources and the home market and for economic regulation.

In the first half of September the Gosplan board confirmed a procedure for the introduction of export quotas for the transitional period. By way of exception, the issuance of licenses has already begun. Subsequently licenses will be issued merely within the framework of quotas stipulated in advance. Processes which are still occurring spontaneously—for example, travel for work overseas, tourism, development of the appropriate services, and joint ventures—will be regulated.

In order to increase foreign economic potential it is planned to make more efficient use of Estonia's geographical location— that is, ensuring the republic's more active participation in transit trade. The first steps in this direction have already been taken: The Baltink, Astar, and Tallink joint firms have already been founded. It is planned at the IME preparatory stage to transfer the entire complex of maritime transportation to republic jurisdiction and begin preparations for the opening of all Estonian ports for international passenger and commercial traffic. The opening of the first regular Tallinn-Helsinki and Tallinn-Stockholm international flight routes is planned for February-March 1990.

For the growth of currency receipts, great significance is attached to foreign tourism. All firms and enterprises employed in service to foreign tourists will switch to republic jurisdiction. This will help increase the amount of foreign currency remaining at the republic's disposal. (We are currently left with approximately 10% of the total currency from foreign tourism—18 million foreign currency rubles—all proceeds from the "Georg Ots"—7 million foreign currency rubles—hitherto having gone wholly to the centralized fund.) Plans are being drawn up for the development of specialized tourism (scientific, medical, and so forth).

Joint ventures will also permit an increase in export potential. Some 66 such ventures being created jointly with 12 countries have as of this time been registered or are awaiting registration. It will be necessary to create a network of Estonian commercial representatives in the countries closest to us economically. Our commercial representative has been working in Finland since this May.

8. Creation of an Information System

A draft republic Council of Ministers decree on reorganization of the work of the statistics authorities is in preparation. The decree provides for the resurrection as of 1 January 1990 of the system of gathering data on the social and economic condition of the republic and their systematization and analytical processing. The system will be linked territorially by rayon, city, and rural soviet. Communications with the union statistical system will be catered to on a contractual basis. The draft decree envisages measures pertaining to the development of data communications between the statistical authorities, higher educational institutions, business research centers, and research establishments both in the republic and the union and with overseas communications systems. The draft is undergoing expert appraisal.

The Estonian State Committee for Statistics has been given the assignment of developing a procedure for the computation of indices of prices and the increase in the cost of living and determining their initial level as of the fourth quarter of 1989.

9. Control of Migration

Migration-control quotas will be introduced as of 1990. Maximum annual immigration quotas will be stipulated. Over and above the quotas the right to residence in Estonia will be accorded people forcibly evicted from Estonia and wishing to return to the homeland, their descendants, compulsory service draftees with a permanent place of residence in Estonia and people who have served their sentence, on the same condition; Estonians wishing to return to their historical homeland, and people who were trained outside of Estonia and who wish to return to their former place of residence.

The immigration quota for 1990 will be submitted for examination by the ESSR Supreme Soviet's December Session, and it will then be necessary to examine the corresponding bill.

The Migration Act will control the entry and exit procedure and permits for temporary and permanent residence and work, apartment exchange, and the acquisition of real estate.

Practical implementation of the act will be entrusted to the immigration service, whose functions and structure the Gosplan will submit for government examination in November.

The immigration service's mission also will incorporate assistance to newcomers in adapting to the new environment and the organization of free courses of instruction in history, culture, and language.

Final Part

PM1311103189 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 24 Sep 89 p 3

[Fourth and final part of document by the Estonian State Planning Committee's Estonian Self-Management Problems Council under the rubric "Republic Economic Accountability: Making Estonian Self-Management a Reality": "Preparatory Stage (September-December 1989)"]

[Text]

10. Reorganizing National Economic Management

In October a law on the subordination to the republic government of all national economic management organs operating in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic will be forwarded to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. Dual subordination will disappear, and Estonian SSR ministries and central establishments will fulfill the instructions of the Estonian SSR Government and no one else. This applies both to control organs and to organs for the protection of law and order which have independent status. The USSR Government and all-union central departments will contact the republic only through its government.

A scheme for the management and organizational structure of the Estonian SSR national economy is to be drawn up before 1 November. Obviously, the draft law based on it will be an important object of debate during the period of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet election campaign. Guided by it, the new parliament will also appoint the new government.

The new scheme of national economic management provides that:

1. The ministries will remain centers of management. An economically independent Estonia will require 10-12 of them (ministries of economics, finance, agriculture, transport and communications, the environment, education and culture, health and social security, foreign affairs, justice, internal affairs). In the first stage of Estonian self-management [IME], 15-17 ministries will be retained.

2. Independent state services are subordinate to ministries. The ministry formulates strategy and policy in a certain sector, while its state services ensure its practical functioning and development. For example, the Ministry of Economics (the present State Planning Committee) will include the services of labor, statistics, immigration, and so forth. Services relating to particular questions enter the republic government only through the corresponding ministry.

3. Management of the state becomes increasingly complex, and the transitional period is particularly difficult. We should await not so much a reduction in the staffs of state establishments as profound changes in the substance and organization of their work. It is necessary to elaborate a system for promoting and renewing central establishment cadres... These questions will be governed by a law on the organization of management, which it is planned to draw up during the first half of 1990.

4. It is not expedient to have staffs of the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers or of deputy ministers. The right to decide questions and to bear responsibility should, as far as possible, be delegated downward. The minister—leader of a sector—is a full member of the government. One of the ministers may substitute for the leader of the government during his absence. For the day-to-day management of work in the ministry there can be one person with the rights of a deputy minister. A department head in the future ministry is comparable with a present deputy minister.

11. Training Cadres To Work Under IME Conditions

Training must begin without delay, and some specialists must be ready as early as 1 January 1990. The Estonian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium approved the relevant training system at its 4 September session, proceeding from the materials "On Urgent Measures To Organize a System of Improvement and Retraining and Also Training of Specialists for the Republic's Transfer to Economic Accountability," prepared by the Gosplan, the Education Committee, the Labor Committee, the Institute of Economic Leaders, and "Maynor."

The creation of a system to train leaders for state organs, local self-management, and production, specialists, and worker cadres in the Estonian SSR, in leading USSR scientific and educational institutions, and in socialist and capitalist countries is envisaged.

The creation of a special fund to finance training on the spot and also abroad and the inclusion of training in an international system, including with the help of a satellite system, are provided for. The expansion of the network of language study centers and the construction of an intensive language study center in Tallinn are envisaged.

As early as this academic year the Education Committee is introducing study of the principles of IME into training programs, expanding the training and retraining of appropriate specialists in higher educational institutions, and organizing a number of courses on questions of foreign relations for students. The most able students will be selected for further study and training abroad. Appropriate training of teacher cadres and the creation of targeted postgraduate studentships are provided for.

The task has been set of promptly publishing literature, textbooks, and teaching programs and producing video materials on the problems of IME. In order to arrange effective horizontal ties among the republics, it is necessary to prepare our potential trade partners. Appropriate targets relating to propaganda of IME have been given to the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers Permanent Mission at the USSR Council of Ministers in Moscow.

Cadres are trained for IME in the educational centers of small enterprises, in joint enterprises, and in cooperatives. State orders for this system ensure the comprehensive nature of training and its orientation toward resolving priority tasks.

12. Preparing for Land Reform

Many land legislation documents and the Estonian SSR Land Code need improvement and changes. It is necessary to revise the existing land legislation and improve many existing legal norms. The composite concept of IME implies a diversity of forms of ownership, including land ownership, and the reorganization of the administrative-territorial system. From this viewpoint the existing legislative acts on land are ineffective. There is no point in supplementing them. It will be more expedient to elaborate fundamentally new land legislation, underpinned by the composite concept of IME. In order to extricate agriculture from the crisis, it is necessary to implement land reform in 1990-1991 with a view to restoring peasant ownership of land and regulating the producer's activity on the land with the help of economic levers of local self-management and a switch to more modern and diverse forms of management. The peasant family is to become the autonomous and independent initial component of agricultural production.

The legislative base of the reform will be drawn up by the end of 1989, legal questions of land use and land ownership will be resolved, an organizational structure will be created to implement the reform, and incentives will be introduced to promote the perestroyka of production in the countryside.

The Estonian SSR Gosplan:

Is to draw up a draft law on land reform, containing the principles of reform and the economic, political, legal, social, and organizational means to implement this reform, by 1 October, with the participation of the broad public. The reform is to be based on the principle: Land is the property of the Estonian SSR and the right to use and own this land is delegated to local self-management (the state retains the right to take land away).

An extradepartmental main committee is to be formed for the purpose of implementing the reform; this committee will include representatives of political forces of the peasantry, economists, and scientists.

The draft law on land reform will be submitted for discussion to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet in October this year.

A scheme for the infrastructure of farmsteads and small agricultural production units is to be drawn up by 1 October, the creation of which is to be financed with resources from the Peasants' Fund from 1990 onward. The fund will derive these resources by introducing prices for land and also from other sources.

Draft land and farmstead legislation is to be drawn up on the basis of the law on land reform (forms of land use and ownership, procedure, and legal conditions).

This legislation will define the subjects of the laws on land ownership, the objects of the laws of ownership, the principles for agricultural land use and ownership, restrictions on land use and length of use, and the rights and responsibilities of the users. The draft laws will be submitted to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet in November.

The organizational structure for the implementation of land reform is to be created (a land management service from 1 November this year; the Peasants' Bank from 1 December this year).

From December this year, prices for land and natural resources are to be introduced by an Estonian SSR Council of Ministers resolution. Prices for land will depend on the purpose of their use, and the price of agricultural land will be conditioned by its potential yield. Land will become an object of buying and selling only with the mediation of the state;

On the basis of a special resolution, from 1990 local self-management will begin to allocate land for permanent use, long-term use, and collective or private ownership. Local self-management is to allocate land to farmsteads, cooperatives, associations, and state farms. State farms are mainly to be created for academic, experimental, and scientific purposes.

13. The Preparation of Housing Reform

The abolition of subsidies for the municipal housing economy implies change in ownership relations and new principles of payment for housing. All this is to be stipulated in the new housing law, the draft of which will be prepared by 1 December this year.

Documents on the conditions for transferring living space from state ownership to citizens' personal ownership will be prepared in October and November.

Living space as personal property is to be considered in the draft law on rent, which will be ready in November.

The law on rent will be submitted for discussion to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet in December this year, the draft law on housing reform will be submitted by the beginning of 1990, and the reform itself is planned for 1990-1991.

14. Reform of Self-Management

New organs of self-management with new legal status are being created. The draft law on the fundamentals of local self-management and economic management is ready. Its distinctive feature is that it distinguishes between the functions of the first level of self-management (valds, districts, settlements, and cities) and the second level (maakonds, volosts, and cities under republic jurisdiction). Under this law, self-management at the first level is to be implemented within the framework of economic independence and on the basis of inhabitants' interests.

Local self-management at the second level is to implement regional policy on the basis of the requirement of balanced development of all sectors of the economy in the administrative territory; it is also to implement Estonian SSR laws and monitor complicance with these laws. The second level of self-management will thereby fulfill a coordinating role in relation to the first level and ensure the implementation of state policy.

A draft Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree has been drawn up on the creation of a territorial system of self-management in the Estonian SSR. It is planned to adopt a decree on the implementation of reform (evidently, a temporary administration should be set up under rayon and city soviet executive committees for the purpose of implementing the reform of self-management) and on its structure and legislative basis in October this year and the law on the fundamentals of local self-management and economic management in November. Draft laws on territorial subdivisions are being prepared. It is planned to adopt this law next year.

Local budgets for 1990 must be ordered in such a way as to ensure that they do not impede the reform of local self-management.

Reader! Everything presented here is the result of a great deal of work by many people. It reflects the main stages in preparations for the transition to IME.

The outlined program was discussed at the Gosplan collegium on 5 September this year. We look forward to your suggestions and observations, your participation. You may write and telephone to the following: Kh. Talving, Gosplan press secretary, telephone: 682-085, address: 200100, Tallinn, 1, Komsomoli Street.
[Signed] THE ESTONIAN GOSPLAN IME PROBLEMS COUNCIL

Republic Leaders Assess Election Campaign

PM2011121589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2

[Interviews with V. Shevchenko, M. Sagdiyev, and A. Gorbunov, chairmen of the Ukrainian, Kazakh, and Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidiums respectively, by unnamed PRAVDA correspondents under the "Ahead of the Elections" rubric: "Face to Face With Voters"; first paragraph is editorial introduction; date and place of interviews not specified]

[Excerpts] The country is preparing for the elections to republic Supreme Soviets and local soviets of people's deputies. This is a highly important political campaign. PRAVDA correspondents asked Supreme Soviet leaders in a number of union republics to talk about the progress of preparations for the elections. We publish their replies.

V. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium: [Passage omitted]

The elections will take place in conditions of acute political struggle, struggle for power and for influence over the masses. Although legislation has entrusted responsibility for their organization to the electoral commissions, the soviets cannot remain on the sidelines of this important political campaign. We see one of our main tasks as being to shape in voters the conviction that the soviets will be able to work effectively only when they contain real champions of perestroyka who are prepared to shoulder the burden of urgent problems.

As we enter the election campaign, it is very important for us all to remember the lessons of last spring's elections of USSR people's deputies. We cannot help but be concerned by certain phenomena that emerged then. Above all the positions of the working class were appreciably squeezed out and representation of women and young people decreased.

I think that leaders of party and soviet organs will draw the requisite conclusions from the results of the spring elections. The initiative was lost and the election campaign was mounted passively, trailing after events, as it were, and this naturally precluded the possibility of influencing the development of events and imparting the appropriate thrust to them. Today the election campaign must not cater to an abstract audience. We must work in a differentiated manner with every social group of voters and take their needs and interests into consideration.

The main thing now is to consolidate all healthy social forces which advocate perestroyka not in word but in deed. I am referring not only to labor collectives but also to various informal associations. Let as many people as possible take part in the nomination of candidate deputies, in active agitation for them, and in the work of electoral commissions. Let there be more glasnost in this work.

Life's most important demand is for attention to people and their everyday needs and concerns to be stepped up. We must proceed on the premise that only serious changes in the social sphere, along with a tangible improvement in Soviet people's lives, can substantially boost the prestige of party organizations and soviets of people's deputies, and thus their influence in collectives and among the population. It is time for us to adopt a vigorous, incisive stance on all practical matters, in social work, and in the mass media. That is the only way we can obtain success.

M. Sagdiyev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

Medics say that a human organism mobilizes all its latent resources when combating disease. Clearly, no one will deny that the country's economy today is in a state of crisis. Hence the growing social tension. I am saying all this because the preparations for and holding of the elections to local and republic soviets must, as it were, help mobilize all the forces of society and the system of people's power to improve the country's economy and social sphere.

It may appear to an outsider that there are no particular grounds for concern in Kazakhstan. In the republic there are none of the organized politicized social movements which are usually described as informal movements, and there are no signs of the direct attacks on the party typical of other regions. This is, indisputably, the result of the fact that over the last few years Communists who have been able to assert the ideas and spirit of perestroyka in the republic have entered the leadership of the republic party organization and Kazakhstan's government. But the outwardly calm atmosphere does not relieve us of our responsibility for the results of the elections. It is not impossible that the emerging forces of the "shadow economy," extremist elements, and the "apparatchiks," in the worst sense of the word, who are losing power and are aligning themselves with them, sheltering behind extreme revolutionary slogans, will try to consolidate their position by winning the coming elections.

I am sure that these forces are alien to most of the republic's population. At the upcoming elections we must observe all the criteria of democracy in order to guarantee the freedom and objectivity of the people's will. The amendments to the USSR Constitution on questions of the electoral system approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet session have granted the republics more independence in determining the principles for forming their power structure.

As a Communist I cannot but rejoice at the fact that party organizations in virtually all oblasts and in the republic as a whole have submitted their platforms for voters to discuss. There is still quite a lot of time left until the December elections and, if we are seriously counting on success, we must not only take into consideration all people's wishes but also persuade them that the Communist Party's program, potential, competence, influence, and cadres can tangibly improve the people's life.

At the same time I want to particularly single out one of the new amendments to the electoral system which demands that the equality of all candidate deputies in the election struggle be observed. In accordance with the USSR Constitution we in the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium are now determining the sums that we will channel from the republic's budget into the election campaign. No contender for the mandate of deputy must feel hard done by. For only an equal struggle and comparison of various views will help find the path to truth. I say this as head of Soviet power in Kazakhstan. And, as a member of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, I add that Communist political leadership must be bolstered by support from most of the republic's population as a result of the elections. But we have to fight for this. It is only by acquiring power through the competition of arguments that the party can count on the success of perestroyka.

A. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

The election campaign in the republic is extremely vigorous. The Central Electoral Commission has to work very hard. I would say without exaggeration that it receives virtually continual telephone calls from various corners of the republic. What are people's main questions? They are mainly asking about various nuances of interpretation of the election law. We patiently and intelligibly explain the various provisions.

Incidentally, protests are also coming in. We react to them immediately, drive out to the localities, and investigate the essence of the conflicts. They usually arise because of discrepancies between the number of voters on the territories of electoral okrugs. Let me cite an example. The Latvian SSR Central Electoral Commission received a complaint regarding this kind of violation in the city of Liyepaya. The commission analyzed the matter and recommended that the situation be urgently rectified, recalling the need for strict observance of the law's demand. The principle of universal, direct, and equal elections is in force in our republic and it must be strictly implemented.

Judging by their appeals to the Central Electoral Commission, very many voters are worried about the law on local self-management. Unfortunately, we have still not adopted the fundamentals of union legislation and have been late in adopting our own republic law. Literally straight after the October festivities this important question was put on the agenda at the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet session.

It is possible that the main politically active forces—the Latvian Communist Party, the People's Front, and the International Front—are waiting till the last moment like experienced gamblers, hoping to nominate their candidates in the most advantageous okrugs. For instance, a party rayon committee plenum at which candidates were named was held in Tukumskiy Rayon on the morning of 10 November, and a few hours later the People's Front rayon organization held a similar event. Well, this does not contravene the law but merely illustrates that the struggle for representation in local organs of power is indeed acute.

The elections of USSR people's deputies were the first lesson in genuine democracy. It is no secret that there were fewer deputies whom the Latvian Communist Party supported in the elections than we would have liked. The party organizations operated quite passively then. This "ailment" is still hard to treat. Even now party organizations—at least many of them—are by no means as active as they should be. Look how the People's Front is acting. It is even being helped by foreign consultants. Fine, this is all legitimate but we must draw a conclusion from this striving for success.

The candidates' programs have become more sober and realistic. Probably because the voters themselves have changed. A candidate can win their trust only with a program based on real proposals as to how our obvious shortcomings —in the social sphere and the environment—can be eliminated as quickly as possible. Moreover, I believe that the unprecedented glasnost in the coverage of the work of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the country's Supreme Soviet session has taught the voters to distinguish people who really want to advance perestroyka from those who are concerned with self-advertisement and vainglorious schemes. I hope that working people will elect true fighters for perestroyka and for the renewal of our life to local organs in the republic.

'Victory' of Baltic Economic Independence Seen

LD0712054289

[Editorial Report] Riga in Latvian to Europe at 2105 GMT on 3 December carries a 3-minute report on and an "excerpt" of a television interview given by Vilnis Bresis, Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers chairman. No further information is given concerning the television source or time of broadcast.

The announcer describes Bresis's interview, noting that Bresis says there is much satisfaction to be felt following the USSR Supreme Soviet's adoption of the law on the Baltic republics' economic independence.

Bresis says, "This is a very great political victory, a very great political victory. "I do not want to touch upon details. We will still talk and argue about these for a long time. I think there will be many people who will note positively what has been achieved. I do not doubt at all that there will be many people and specialists who will dispute.

In principle, however, I think if we assess this undertaking precisely from the political standpoint, then this is a great victory for our public opinion, a very great one.

Well, in continuing to talk further about the law perhaps as such, I would like to say that we will still analyze it. We still do not have its final wording with certain nuances and changes introduced at the last moment. But, on the whole, I think it is a very, very big new radical prospect of our economic life. We are able to introduce radical changes.

I think that here, right away after the so-called preamble, where a survey of our rights begins; then there are here very, very interesting fundamental points. Such a point could be stated for instance that the republic has been granted the rights of adopting independently its laws on developing socioeconomic life in our territory.

After long arguments and heated debate we adopted such a form, such a well, stance that the republic has the right of administering its land to develop further its ownership, utilization system. These were very heated, let us say, debates and arguments precisely on this point.

The entry on external economic contacts, on developing an independent system of them is very essential.

Well, and also many other entries let us say, such as developing of a financial market, management and protection of the state's natural resources [are essential]. You see, all these laws give us kind of new, very essential opportunities.

A law opens up prospects, as it were, it draws a borderline, well, as if creating a starting spot for our further development.

Belorussian Draft Language Law Analyzed

PM0612163789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent M. Shimanskiy report under the rubric "Sessions of Union Republic Supreme Soviets": "Belorussian SSR"]

[Text] A joint sitting of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet standing commissions has examined the draft Law on Languages in the Belorussian SSR. The local press has set out its basic provisions. When elaborating the draft law, the authors proceeded on the premise that Belorussia is a multiethnic republic.

That is why, in determining the status of Belorussian as the state language, they made provision for the development of the languages of all nationalities living in the republic without exception at this state level. The draft law regulates the use of languages in state, socioeconomic, and cultural life. It presupposes that acts by supreme bodies of state power and the republic's government will be adopted in Belorussian and also printed in Russian. According to the draft law the language of business and mutual relations between various organizations, establishments, and enterprises is Belorussian or Russian where necessary. Belorussian is the working language to be used at congresses, conferences, plenums, sittings, and meetings.

The draft law guarantees the right of each of the republic's inhabitants to be educated in their native language. Belorussian is given precedence in the cultural sphere. The language of most of the official mass media is Belorussian.

It is intended that some articles of the law shall be introduced not immediately but gradually, over 10 years. The timeframe for official establishments to switch to Belorussian is 3 years. For the education system, where this requires very great and multifaceted work, a maximum timeframe is envisaged. The draft law will be submitted for nationwide discussion.

Sokolov Addresses Belorussian Central Committee

90UN0256C Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 19 Oct 89 pp 1, 2

[Report by Ye.Ye. Sokolov at the 15th Plenum of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee on 18 October 1989: "On Convening the Regular 31st Belorussian Communist Party Congress"]

[Text] Comrades!

As you know, the CPSU Central Committee's September (1989) Plenum adopted a decision on convening the regular 28th party congress in October next year.

Precisely regular, and not extraordinary or special, as some comrades would like to term it. You will agree, I believe, that the party has been behind in holding congresses. They have been held not on the eve of a new 5-year plan, but in the course thereof when the 5-year plan has already been confirmed. There has thereby been a diminution to a certain extent in their roles designed to determine the CPSU's strategy and tactics in the struggle for an acceleration of the country's socioeconomic and spiritual development for the upcoming 5-year period.

Bringing closer the time of holding the 28th congress has been brought about primarily by the fact that important changes have occurred in the life of the party and the whole of society in the time that has elapsed since the 27th CPSU Congress. Democracy is developing dynamically, glasnost is expanding, political and economic reforms are being implemented, and new forms and methods of management are being assimilated, which, naturally, is giving rise to a turbulent reaction in the public consciousness.

In all areas the concept of revolutionary renewal has come into direct contact with life. Many problems, whose sources are in the past and also in the mistakes and shortcomings which have been allowed to occur in the period of perestroyka, have been revealed. All this requires in-depth collective comprehension and collation and the formulation of new approaches and solutions designed to accelerate the transformations which are taking place in the socioeconomic, ideological, and organizational and political spheres of activity.

The bringing forward of the time of the congress is dictated also by the need for the renewal of the party itself and the enhancement of its role as the political vanguard of society at the present stage of the building of socialism.

In order to operate actively, creatively, and innovatively and to act as the truly integrating force in the country, the CPSU and all its organizations must rid themselves of obsolete structures, sets of instructions, and rules and abandon many former stereotypes.

On the other hand, it is necessary to speed up implementation of the measures outlined by the 19th Party Conference pertaining to the comprehensive democratization of the party and consolidate much of what is positive which has been accumulated in recent years in the life of the party organizations. All this must be reflected in the action program for the immediate future and in the new CPSU rules which will be adopted by the 28th Party Congress.

The actual dates of the report and election campaign in the party will be studied at a CPSU Central Committee plenum.

As far as the 31st Belorussian Communist Party Congress is concerned, the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau proposes that it be held in September 1990 with the following agenda:

1. Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee report on the leadership of perestroyka and the tasks of the republic's party organizations.

2. Report of the Belorussian Communist Party Auditing Commission.

3. The Belorussian Communist Party Action Program.

4. Proposals pertaining to a change in the CPSU rules.

5. Elections of executive authorities of the Belorussian Communist Party.

This agenda will make it possible to comprehensively analyze what has been done and chart paths of a further increase in the influence of the party committees and organizations on the course of transformations in the economy, culture, social, and other spheres of the life of the republic.

We will submit proposals concerning the dates of the report and election party conferences and meetings locally and the procedure of the election of delegates to the 31st congress for examination by an upcoming Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee plenum.

And now about the Belorussian Communist Party Program. Does the republic party organization need one or not? Let us take a look.

The ideas and proposals of the CPSU Central Committee platform pertaining to nationality policy essentially infuse new energy into the economic, political, and spiritual life of each people of the country, given a simultaneous multiplication of the international unity of the whole of the socialist society.

Seeing as its primary political task the renewal of the Soviet Federation and its suffusion with real economic and political content for the sake of satisfaction of the diverse requirements of all the Soviet nations, the CPSU considers a principle condition of this the optimum correlation between the rights of the union republics and the USSR as a whole.

As we all know, the union republics are accorded all rights conforming to their status as sovereign socialist states which are members of a federation. They are empowered to decide all questions of state and public life, aside from, of course, those which they hand over on a voluntary basis to the jurisdiction of the union.

In a word, the sovereignty of the republic is becoming a reality, which is confronting us with the question: Should this entail certain adjustments in the development, content and direction of the activity of the republic party organization? And, if so, which precisely?

Before answering, I would like with all certainty to emphasize that the Belorussian Communist Party has operated, is now operating, and will continue to operate as a stanch detachment of the Lenin party faithful to communist ideals. We emphatically support the unity of all detachments of the CPSU based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and common political and ideological standpoints. We are opposed to the federalization of the CPSU.

At the same time, however, the appreciable increase in independence, consideration of the national factor, and the organic combination of national and international values and interests prompt the formulation of a Belorussian Communist Party program. It is dictated by a whole number of circumstances. I shall dwell merely on some of them.

I shall begin with the **economic aspect.** As you know, as of next year the republic will switch to the principles of self-management and self-financing. An economic system will be created whose basis will be not commands and not orders, but economic methods of management regulated by law. This will confront us with a multitude of problems. These include the mutual relations of the forms of ownership, an acceleration of S&T progress, an increase in the territory's economic independence, the surmounting of man's alienation from the results of his labor, a fundamental change in cadres' mentality, and new forms and methods of organizing and political work.

Many people most likely already know that plans and factories manufacturing approximately one-half of industrial output and also all enterprises of the agro-industrial complex, construction, trade, and the social sphere connected with people's everyday life will be transferred to the direct jurisdiction of the republic.

In the future, in the 13th 5-Year Plan in particular, the "republic share" will amount, according to preliminary calculations, to approximately 80 percent.

Of course, some plants and associations will be subordinated directly to the oblasts, rayons, and cities. The reallocation of powers between "higher" and "lower" territories and the change in enterprise jurisdiction will require clarification also of the entire structure of management of the republic's economy and, if necessary, the elimination of certain ministries and departments. We have been accorded the right here to ourselves determine the structure, composition, and numbers of those working in the apparatus and the expenditure on maintaining them.

We must remember that an increase in independence means primarily increased responsibility. There will be no looking to "uncle" now. Self-sufficiency and self-financing will be the basis of the self-management of territories—from the rayon to the republic. That is, our well-being will depend wholly and fully on the end results of our labor.

In other words, the main source of a strengthening of the financial base of the local budgets is to be a constant search for an increase in internal revenue. A mechanism of the formation of city and rayon budgets will be created which will interest all the enterprises and organizations located on their territory in an increase in the efficiency of work and an increase in the manufacture of consumer goods and farm products and the development of housing and other social construction and services.

With the transition to regional self-management there will be a broadening of the powers of the republic, the oblasts, and the rayons in the sphere of planning both the subdepartmental economy and enterprises of union jurisdiction. The plan will not be formed from above, as was the case earlier, but will be based on enterprise and rayon plans. It will be not so much a directive as a regulator of development employing financial, price, plan, credit, and other levers and mechanisms.

The principles of self-financing will prompt a new approach to the pursuit of S&T policy also. The efforts of academy and sectorial science need to be channeled into the solution of both regional problems and statewide tasks. It operates as yet chiefly in respect of subject matter of union bodies. It will evidently be advisable in the oblasts to create on the basis of the network of research, design, planning, and production-engineering organizations intersectorial financially autonomous research centers.

There will also be an appreciable broadening of the opportunities for the development of foreign economic relations. But this in itself will provide nothing unless we become more purposefully involved in the development of trade, a rise in the technical standard and competitiveness of products, and in sales markets.

The new conditions of economic activity—and their assimilation will take more than 1 year, of course—will also require of us new approaches to an intensification of party influence on these processes. No one has exempted the Belorussian Communist Party of responsibility for the republic's socioeconomic development. On the contrary, this responsibility has to increase.

I would like to stress that in the business of the assimilation of the principles of self-management and self-financing we—I mean the republic—are pioneers. No one has experience of this. We are treading an uncharted path. In addition, our "Belorussian" economic accountability differs from that of the other republics.

This is obviously right: the multi-variant nature of the approaches is determined to a certain extent also by the specifics of this republic and region or the other. But this being the case, the answer to the question of whether the Belorussian Communist Party needs its own action program under such conditions can only be unequivocal: Yes, it does. **The political aspect.** I believe you will agree with me that the social and political situation with us differs from that which has taken shape in other republics and regions.

But let no one be confused, let no one be enervated by opinions to the effect that with us the extremists are not at all the kind of extremist, malicious, and unbridled extremists as elsewhere. Let no one take comfort either in the fact that we do not have outbreaks of nationalism and separatism. We must not only see but also foresee and predict the development of this event or the other, this trend or the other.

Life has posed a multitude of questions to which we have to find the correct answers. What should we be abandoning and what should we be adopting from the experience acquired in the course of perestroyka in order to reach people's qualitatively new living standard and to strengthen the positions of socialism?

We need to investigate this for the added reason that, like mushrooms after rain, various versions and concepts are appearing which are far removed from the working people's interests and the socialist values they have created. The ideological helplessness of certain party organizations has been acutely manifested in this situation. By virtue of various factors, far from every communist has become an active political fighter of the party.

In a word, under the conditions of democratization, glasnost, diversity of opinion, and the transition of the party organizations mainly to methods of political leadership, the formulation of a new concept thereof also is essential. We need to emphatically abandon the understanding that political work is merely a means of "backing up" adopted decisions, merely the province of a small group of professional workers.

An important place in this concept should be occupied by questions of the development of national culture.

The language problem, say. Some comrades are proposing the passage of a Belorussian official language act and its immediate introduction. There can be no objections to the first part of this proposal. But what about the second part? Let us suppose that such an act is adopted and introduced at once. It would not work, alas, and nothing would come of it other than confusion.

First, this is not only a political and ideological issue. It has its economic facets also. After all, in order for a Belorussian official language act to be brought into effect it would be necessary to create the essential physical plant in the spheres of education, culture, science, and trade and service, on transport and in the municipal economy and office work. In addition, it would be essential to also have a considerable number of translators. All of this is as yet currently lacking.

Second, nor is the fact that a large number of the Russian-speaking population and nationally mixed families lives in the republic to be underestimated.

Third, account also has to be taken of the fact that domestic and world literature—both S&T and fiction and poetry—comes to us mainly in Russian, and the artificial limitation of its study and knowledge thereof could have a negative effect on the development of the republic's S&T and spiritual progress. This would, besides, inevitably lead to a weakening of the ties of friendship of the peoples of our fatherland and a deterioration in interethnic relations.

Fourth, we will not make successful progress without a change in public opinion in respect of language problems. And this is, as you know, a complex question—there can be no giving orders here. Long painstaking and purposeful work has to be done.

For this reason our task is to carefully draw up and enact the appropriate legislative instruments and to determine the time frame of introduction with regard for the creation of the conditions for their full-fledged functioning.

Speaking of the development of national culture, however, it has to be noted that much work has to be done to secure a level and structure of the consumption of cultural benefits as corresponds to the greatest extent to the goals of the formation of the harmoniously developed, spiritually rich personality. **The ecological aspect.** There are very many problems here similar to one degree or another to those being resolved in other republics of the country. I have in mind, first of all, the preservation of the environment.

But no one will take issue with the fact that the republic party organization has an immense and highly specific area of work in this respect. We will have to involve ourselves for several years in elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl accident. I will say more: The creation of normal conditions for the activity of people of the affected areas is a most important program goal of the republic Communist Party. **The legal aspect.** We are moving toward a law-based state, and the role of the republic party organization in an analysis of the trends of the development of social relationships and their comprehension and evaluation and in the formulation by way of legislative initiative of urgent questions is growing appreciably.

Revision and improvement of republic legislation must be an inalienable part of the legal reform. Without such reform, as you yourselves understand, all relationships in matters of ownership, civil transactions, and so forth would become too fragile and unreliable. The Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution also will be perfected in the channel thereof and also in accordance with the updated Basic Law of the country.

We must mention also the fact that the sociopolitical situation in the republic is being aggravated by the rise in crime. War has been declared on it, but there has been no decisive offensive as yet. I believe that a principle cause of this situation is the insufficient consolidation of all forces called upon to safeguard public order, the preservation of state and personal property, and citizens' safety. It is perfectly obvious that a clear-cut action program is needed here also. **The international aspect.** Our republic is a founding member of and participant in the United Nations, but its international activity has been limited to a large extent. Now, with the acquisition of real sovereignty, opportunities for a stimulation of this activity in the name of strengthening peace worldwide and for the development of economic integration processes are expanding noticeably. How to use them with the greatest efficiency, and what should the priorities be here? We ourselves have to find the answers to these and many other questions.

Naturally, our foreign policy relations will expand along party lines also.

In a word, the establishment of the genuine sovereignty of the Belorussian SSR, the suffusion with real content of our relations with the union and the other republics, the creation of an economic system based on economic methods and regulated by law, the implementation of a large-scale state program for the elimination on our soil of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station, and a number of other most important factors require a recomprehension of the role of the republic party organization as the political vanguard of the republic.

And we not only have the right but are obliged to formulate the ways and means, strategy, and tactics and, finally, policy at the time of the formulation and accomplishment of the tasks confronting us with unfailing consideration of the national-historical, political, social, cultural, and economic singularities of the development of the republic. We must today confirm by deeds daily and hourly our vanguard role and tell people precisely and clearly to what the Communist Party aspires, where it is heading, what it rejects and why.

Summing up what has been said, I would like to draw the inference that the Belorussian Communist Party requires a new status in keeping with the republic's sovereignty, which is being brought up to date.

And we cannot agree with those who are maintaining that the Belorussian Communist Party Program will inevitable ape the CPSU Program. Yes, there can be no differences on positions of principle. At the same time it has to be considered that a number of propositions of the present CPSU Program are outdated. Furthermore, it needs to be borne in mind that this is not a document which was drawn up once and for all. It needs to be developed dialectically and constantly updated. We also could participate in this, approving this idea and proposition or the other in our program.

If you agree with this formulation of the issue, it is essential that we—I mean the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee plenum—form a commission to draw up the draft Belorussian Communist Party Program with the intention that it be studied at a Central Committee plenum at the end of the first quarter of next year and submitted for nationwide discussion.

Without going into details, I would like to briefly mention certain basic propositions of the program which could form its supporting ideological and political framework.

It needs to be emphasized in this document primarily that the Belorussian Communist Party firmly abides by Marxist-Leninist positions, emphatically supports the further development and intensification of the processes of perestroyka and the unswerving democratization of intraparty and social life, and always operates openly, in an atmosphere of extensive glasnost.

Both the collation and theoretical comprehension of the historical experience of the Belorussian Communist Party and the lessons and conclusions ensuing therefrom would seem obvious also. Such an objective analysis would be both an essential condition of the cognition and evaluation of the social and political processes occurring today and a most important means of the transformation of our reality.

We also have to interpret the progress and determine the prospects of perestroyka. We have seen for ourselves since April 1985 that it has, together with common regularities, its own, highly specific features also.

In what and how this is common and specific is manifested in the republic in various spheres of social life and their dialectical correlation with the processes which are occurring in the CPSU and the country as a whole and, finally, the possible development of events in the immediate future and in the longer term—we will need to reflect thoroughly on these matters.

It will be necessary to clearly determine the main tasks of perestroyka in all spheres of socioeconomic and spiritual life and, in accordance with this, individual stages and intermediate goals.

It is necessary to distinguish among the priority problems here two main ones, in my opinion.

The central question of the theory and practice of socialism—and we not only will not leave but do not have the right to leave the path of socialism, the path chosen by the people—is the harmonious development of the personality. Man and his needs and concerns, the growth of his well-being, and the improvement of his inner world—this is toward what we should orient the program. In other words, its motto should be: "To make man richer both spiritually and materially".

From which comes the second question: What are the characteristics, criteria, and reference points of the qualitatively new state of society which we would like to achieve in the republic as a result of perestroyka?

The main approach which it would be desirable to make the basis of the work on the determination of the program goals is ensuring by political means the lead-taking and vanguard role of the party in all walks of life. And this means a search for nonstandard innovative solutions of the problems facing the republic and attractive ideas for all classes and social groups of the population—workers, kolkhoz [collective farm] members, the artistic and S&T intelligentsia, women, the youth, and party, war, and labor veterans.

It is such solutions and ideas based on practicle calculation, bold risk, and creative inspiration and, what is most important, imbued with faith in the clear intelligence, creative energy, and illustrious traditions of the people of Soviet Belorussia which need to be counterpoised to the program principles of our opponents, who are attempting to remove the party of Lenin from the political scene and turn society back onto the capitalist path of development.

And then people will be able to see for themselves where there is action and where there is trumpery of self-publicity, where there is strenuous creative search and where there is arrogant dependency, where there is a sincere desire to work together with the people and where there is a frenzied aspiration to firmly establish one's own power behind the people's back.

The principle program document of the Belorussian Communist Party should evidently also reflect the bounds of its independence. There may pertain to its competence all questions of internal life: implementation of the Leninist principles of the selection, assignment, and education of cadres, determination of the composition and structure of the party committees and organizations, and the distribution and use of party resources.

The program should emphasize that the republic party organization operates strictly within the framework of the Belorussian SSR Constitution. It earns its vanguard role by scientific ideas and theories and with the aid of purely political methods and constant struggle for the working people's interests.

It would also be desirable to have a program proposition to the effect that the Belorussian Communist Party, as an integral part of the CPSU and the international communist movement, cooperates with the communist parties of the union republics and other countries and progressive democratic movements. It participates on an equal footing with the communist parties of the union republics in the formulation and realization of the strategy and tactics of the CPSU and the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory.

We are obliged also to have our say on the question of the party's relations with public organizations and amateur movements and groups. I believe it would be correct to state that the Belorussian Communist Party cooperates and conducts a constructive dialogue not only with the unions and the Komsomol, but with all public movements and groups adhering to socialist positions, and uses their creative potential in every possible way for the accomplishment of practical tasks.

As far as the amateur associations whose ideological principles and practical actions are at odds with the USSR and the Belorussian SSR Constitutions are concerned, the republic Communist Party will conduct a political struggle with them and will not allow its members to participate in them.

It would be expedient to note in the program that the Belorussian Communist Party, expressing and championing the interests and aspirations of the whole people of the republic, pursues is policy line via the communists working in the labor collectives in the soviets of people's deputies, in the unions, the Komsomol and other public organizations, and in businesses.

The Belorussian Communist Party will strive perseveringly for a revival of a Leninist understanding of the principle of democratic centralism: freedom of debate at the stage of the discussion of questions and unity of action following the adoption of a majority decision; a strengthening of its democratic essence by way of the exercise of supervision "from below," and the impermissibility of the persecution of those who express a different constructive opinion.

Of course, we cannot set all the reference points of the program today. This will require profound analytical work, scientific substantiation and foresight, consultation with party, war, and labor veterans, and consideration of the opinion of thousands upon thousands of communists and nonparty people. This also will be a preoccupation of the commission to be formed by the plenum.

But now I consider it necessary to dwell briefly on certain questions of the current moment.

We are on the threshold of the second stage of political reform—the elections of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet and the local soviets. All strength and capabilities and all will power and energy need to be channeled into ensuring that real champions of perestroyka constitute the new soviets elected on a democratic basis. Do not consider these words an undue fomenting of passions. We have enough emotions in our present-day life as it is. But there are also enough grounds for talking in precisely this key.

After all, the question of elections is a question of whether there will or will not be soviet power in the Leninist understanding, whether there will or will not be a socialist system, and whether there will or will not be a Communist Party.

The elections for us, for all our cadres, will be a test of our ability to operate under new, increasingly complex conditions characterized by a number of obvious contradictions. One such is the fact that on the one hand there is dynamism in the development of the economy, and quite appreciable in terms of a number of positions; and, on the other, unabating social tension.

Here are some results of the work in 9 months.

In industry production increased 4.7 percent, and productivity, 5 percent, which is above the annual target. The plan for contracted product supplies was fulfilled 99.9 percent.

It has not been a bad year for the republic's farmers. The cereals yield constituted 32 quintals, and the gross grain harvest was almost 1.5 million tonnes in excess of last year's harvest. A good harvest of potatoes, sugar beet, and fodder crops was cultivated. More fodder was laid in than last year. The stockbreeders are overcoming the lag which had built up in the first 6 months. In terms of the sale of livestock and per cow milk yield, last year's level was surpassed in 9 months. A steady growth in the weight gains of cattle and hogs was observed. The state plan for purchases of grain and the 9-month plan for purchases of livestock and milk, were fulfilled.

The commissioning of fixed capital thanks to state capital investments increased 6 percent. Housing, by 8 percent. Nine-month plans were overfulfilled in respect of the production of consumer goods by R590 million, retail commodity turnover by R611 million, and chargeable services by R91 million. The population's monetary income grew by almost 12 percent.

Nonetheless, the situation in the republic's economy remains complex and ambiguous. People's general sociopolitical feelings are affected most seriously and painfully by lack of satisfaction in their provision with goods and services. However, even in this situation the state order for the supply of goods in January-September was not fulfilled by 60 enterprises in an amount totaling approximately R8 million.

A lag has been allowed to build up in capital construction, particularly in the erection of social facilities. It will be necessary in the fourth quarter to secure the commissioning of 45 percent of the annual quantity of apartment houses, more than 55 percent of health care facilities and preschool establishments, and 70 percent of clubhouses and cultural centers.

A serious situation continues in the shipment of freight, by railroad particularly. It may be rectified thanks to an increase in the personnel's responsibility for the better use of rolling stock and a reduction in car idling. There has been an increase by a factor of 1.6 compared with the analogous period of last year in the balance of cars not unloaded in good time. The amount of nighttime work has diminished. Special measures are needed, I would say, both on the part of the managers and on the part of the soviet and party authorities.

We need to do everything to successfully complete the year's quotas and thereby create the necessary process stock for fruitful work under the conditions of self-financing and self-management.

The shaping of the plan of the republic's socioeconomic development in 1990 is being completed. What will it be like? Intensive, primarily. This intensity is brought about by the appreciable growth in the volume of the manufacture of consumer products and the rendering of consumer services. That is, a further intensification of the social thrust of the plan is its determining characteristic.

Fulfillment of the plan by each collective and each sector will make it possible to rectify the situation on the consumer market appreciably and eliminate or reduce the shortage of a whole number of consumer goods.

It will not, of course, be easy. The high quotas which have been mapped out will have to be realized both under the new management conditions and in an unusual social and political atmosphere. This will require of each of us, each party organization and each collective a search for nonstandard approaches and unutilized potentialities.

One such lies on the surface, so to speak. I refer to discipline—labor, performance, and plan.

What are we observing today? The broadening of democratization in all walks of life is being accompanied by a lessening of responsibility for the fulfillment of adopted pledges and plans and a weakening of good conduct.

Certain outfits are failing to display concern in connection with the increased frequency of flagrant violations of plan, engineering and performance discipline, the inadequate organization of labor, and the passiveness and lax management of officials and specialists.

In industry alone losses of work time in the first 6 months constituted 245,000 man-days. The number of whole-day standstills increased by a factor of 1.6 here, and no-shows with management's permission, by one-third. There was more absenteeism.

There was a considerable increase also in losses of work time in construction and other sectors.

Do not think, comrades, that I am appealing to you for an active search for potential for the sake of fine-sounding words. This is a vital necessity. The times when it was possible to count on someone helping out, assisting, and contributing a little have gone never to return. No one should have a mood of dependency. Today we may count only on self-reliance.

And there are places to apply it. Our people's quality of life is in need of considerable improvement. Only this will help firmly establish in the public mind satisfaction with the results of perestroyka and confidence in the achievement of the goals outlined by the party.

We can all see that certain forces are taking advantage of the shortcomings and difficulties for unconcealed and veiled attacks on the cadres and on the CPSU. These attacks are ultimately aimed at weakening the party's influence and calling in question its leading role and its capacity for changing the situation and seeing perestroyka through to the end.

Such, in the most general outline, is the background of the preparation for the elections. I would like to focus your attention on certain matters connected with their realization.

It needs to be borne in mind that calls have been heard recently for the distancing of the party from the soviets and the election of a corps of deputies without the Bolsheviks. This must be resolutely rebuffed.

The party committees and organizations must be clearly aware that it is not simply a conventional, in the former understanding, election campaign which has to be conducted. It will develop into an acute political struggle. In fact all the participants in this most important work will have more than ever to pass a real test of political maturity. For what has been planned may only be achieved in this work with the aid of political forms of activity. Consequently, it is necessary to demonstrate a capacity for winning the trust of those with whom one will have to work in the labor collective and at the place of residence.

It is extremely important that a clear vision of the social situation and their place and role at all stages of the impending elections take shape in each party committee and in each party organization. The party organizations must be mobilized, so to speak, and ready to operate actively with regard for the fact that the elections will produce a new surge of the politicization of the masses. The party organizations cannot, do not have the right, as has been the case in places, unfortunately, to adopt a passive, entrenched position and remain silent where their telling words, convincing to the electorate, are needed.

The proposition concerning the party's nonintervention in the election campaign, which is being fanned persistently by those who would like themselves to fill the emerging vacuum, must be rejected as worthless and harmful. The issue stands thus: Each party organization is obliged to involve itself purposefully in the election campaign and the coordination of the activity of public forces, participate in the nomination of candidates for deputy and help them defend high-minded positions.

Where if not at the elections may and should the possibilities of political methods be employed to the maximum. This is their native sphere, so to speak. Of course, there are no prescriptions for all contingencies but there are undoubtedly common aspects.

It is important right at the early stages of the election work to join in it as active participants in the shaping of public opinion and also for finding candidates, interesting people who think other than in standard fashion and who attract the sympathies of the masses with their adherence to principle and desire to participate actively in perestroyka and influence the state of affairs in the work force and in the soviets.

The party committees and organizations need to pay particular attention to finding candidates from the ranks of the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry. I will say more: We must do everything to ensure that they be extensively represented both in the Supreme Soviet and in the local soviets. This needs to be seen as our primary task for the period of the election campaign.

Perhaps it is necessary to determine certain quotas for them. Other versions are, of course, possible also. They all need to be carefully discussed.

We must proceed here from the fact that the extensive participation of the best representatives of the working class and kolkhoz peasantry in the renewed supreme and local soviets will undoubtedly suffuse their activity with constructive content and bring the organs of state power as close as possible to the needs and interests of the working man.

At the same time it is necessary to expose in every possible way those who are striving after deputy's credentials by using social demagogy, making unrealistic promises left and right, and essentially engaging in Manilovism [blithe complacency]. And the experience of the last election campaign is evidence that there will be such people.

Particular significance will be attached to scrupulousness in the establishment of social justice. It is necessary to demonstrate not in words but in deeds the party and soviet authorities' capacity for occupying the correct position on this issue, comprehensible to everyone. A capacity for sensing the atmosphere in which the work has to be done and opportunely adhering to and considering public opinion on the most urgent problems of life will make it possible to operate with effect.

It is essential to conduct a constructive dialogue with all public forces which set as their task the renewal of socialism and the development of the Soviet social and economic system. This will protect the party against self-exclusiveness and sectarianism and strengthen its leading positions.

It is necessary that the unions, the Komsomol, and women's, veterans', and other public organizations start to work at full power at the elections. The command of the times for the party committees is that, relying on the communists working in them, they pursue their own line.

Much will depend on the actions of the party organizations of the service sphere, the schools, medical institutions, trade enterprises, and the law enforcement authorities and, generally, the communists working under conditions of constant and close contact with the population. It is necessary that these party organizations make full use of their opportunities and display creative initiative.

The last election campaign engendered among a number of party and soviet officials a reluctance to become mixed up in the election struggle and a lack of confidence in their powers. Of course, we all understand that party and soviet officials bear a particular burden in the election contest and that increased demands will be made of them, but public trust multiplies a leader's authority. There is no managing without it.

There is no need to succumb to a panic mood and to dramatize the situation when some people lose in elections offering a choice. At the same time, however, the conclusions need to be drawn in instances where an official's manifest bankruptcy is manifested.

Some people are asking: What will happen to a party official, a party committee first secretary, say, if he is nominated as a candidate for deputy? It is perfectly clear: He must be constantly among the electorate—in the work force, at the place of residence, in the homes—everywhere there is an opportunity and necessity for maintaining contacts with people. But he is, after all, held responsible for all matters in the city or rayon. How to combine the one with the other?

Let us agree here: The most important duty of the party official running for soviet office is to win at the elections. As far as his other duties are concerned, he should delegate some of them to party committee colleagues not participating in the struggle for deputy's credentials.

In a word, it is necessary by the efforts of all communists and the efforts of the workers, kolkhoz members, the intelligentsia, and the public to seek to ensure that the soviets are qualitatively renewed and that they really are active and reflect the mood of the masses and work efficiently for the good of perestroyka. No one—neither the electorate nor the party nor perestroyka —needs any other kind.

Let us not forget that certain forces in our society would not be averse to turning the transfer of power to the soviets into the arbitrary seizure of this power. It is for this purpose that democratic mechanisms are being exploited and that all that has been achieved by the people in the years of Soviet power is being disparaged.

We are striving for a qualitatively new state of society and the further economic, social, and spiritual development of the republic, but those who are pretending to be most interested in this are trampling on all that constitutes the vital basis of our national life, distorting the patriotism of our people, censuring their history, and belittling their capacity for successfully managing their own affairs.

We have evidently underestimated these destructive, wrecking forces. We have put too much faith, evidently, in their realism and reason. However, they are not suited not only by the socialism by which we also are not suited, but also socialism as such in general. And inasmuch as the party remains true to the people's choice, they are opposed to the party and, consequently, the people.

The time has come when each communist must occupy a clear-cut, high-minded position in defense of our ideals and values and cogently expose the intrigues of those who, taking cover behind restructuring phrasemongering, would like to knock the country off the path of revolutionary renewal.

Under these conditions the party committees and soviet authorities must effectively set in motion the entire potential of the mass media at their disposal. And without embarrassment boldly and correctly reveal the extremist forces and show the people their true face and their ultimate aspirations. At the same time it is necessary to say clearly and convincingly that only the Communist Party together with the whole Soviet people, as has been the case at the most difficult moments of our history, will find a way out of the difficult situation in which we have found ourselves.

Many journalists, as Comrade Shulyak, blacksmith at the Minsk Auto Plant, put it, have sunk into a state of euphoria in respect of the activity of every conceivable kind of front, union, and riff-raff. And at the same time, on the other hand, striking publications on the subject of labor, of profound content, and revealing the lofty moral and spiritual qualities of the workers, kolkhoz members, and the intelligentsia have become a rarity. Taking cover behind the pluralism of opinions, certain publications are pinning labels on the party committees and the soviets of people's deputies, on executive personnel, and on those who are truly upholding the ideals and values of socialism and the people.

It cannot go on like this. Let no one interpret my words as an attempt to "clamp down" on the press. Not a bit of it. But we are emphatically opposed to the endeavor of certain newspapers and journals to depart from party principles and distort the truth to please a small group of persons.

Such are the issues which I have been instructed to bring to your notice. Thank you for your attention.

Ukrainian Gosteleradio Promotes Radio Bridges

90UN0344A Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 5 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by A. Gorlov, deputy chief editor, Ukrainian SSR Gosteleradio Main Office for Foreign Language Propaganda Broadcasting: "Encounters on the Air"]

[Text] Within about the last 3 years, the journalists of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Gosteleradio's [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] Main Board for Broadcasting to Foreign Countries have established more than 48 radio bridges between Kiev and cities in Europe, the United States, and Australia.

Such a large number of encounters over the air could create the impression that it is easy to "build" such bridges. But that is not the case. While perestroyka and further democratization of our society have enabled Ukrainian journalists to seek close contacts with their colleagues abroad, at first Western radio broadcasting organizations approached the idea of cooperation rather warily.

Persistent, protracted negotiations, however, finally produced results.

People in the U.S. cities of Chicago, New York, Washington, and Los Angeles were the first to hear Radio Kiev on local radio stations rather than by shortwave receiver. Somewhat later, locally broadcast programming became available to people in Cologne, Munich (FRG), Leipzig (GDR), [name illegible] and Paris (France) and, in addition, Adelaide (Australia).

While the first radio bridges were of a get-acquainted nature, so to speak, and evoked interest as something of a novelty, subsequently these get-togethers over the air were organized on the basis of equal partnership and pursued the aim of clarifying points of view on various political and humanistic issues.

The debate was rather heated on the occasion of the first radio bridge with Adelaide, for the subject of discussion was of acute current importance: protection of the environment and the dangers of nuclear power. Both opposing and common opinions were expressed. Corresponding member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences D. Hrodzynskyy and Dr. I. Maddocks, president of the Australian Association of Doctors for Prevention of the Threat of War, for example, agreed that alternative sources of energy must be sought.

H. Menzheres, deputy chairman of the Executive Committee of the Kiev Soviet of People's Deputies, and G. Ferraro, Democratic Party vice-presidential candidate, discussed problems of growth of cities and urban development as well as the status of women in society.

USSR People's Deputy V. Hryshchuk and Bundestag member (G. Erlor) discussed a wide range of issues—from disarmament to the cost of food—during a Kiev-Cologne (FRG) radio bridge exchange.

Today, talking one-on-one across continents and oceans and pondering common problems, we can draw the conclusion that listeners abroad are showing considerable interest in such programs.

Radio bridges are an effective means of cooperation and also make a significant contribution to the establishment of friendly dialogue between the countries of East and West, constituting one more step toward mutual understanding.

Ukrainian People's Deputies Law Published

90UN0333A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 1 Nov 89 pp 1-3

[Law of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic signed on 27 October 1989 by V. Shevchenko, chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, and N. Khomenko, secretary of the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet: "On Elections of People's Deputies of the Ukrainian SSR"]

[Text]

I. General Provisions

Article 1. Basic principles of elections of Ukrainian SSR [Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic] people's deputies

Elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies are held in single-mandate electoral okrugs on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage with secret voting

Article 2. Universal suffrage

Elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies are universal: Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR who have reached the age of 18 years have the right to elect and be elected.

Any direct or indirect restrictions on the voting rights of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR depending on their origin, social or property position, race or national affiliation, sex, education, language, religious beliefs, time of residence in a given area, or type or nature of employment are prohibited.

Mentally ill citizens who have been declared incompetent by the court, individuals who are incarcerated, and also individuals who by a decision of the court are undergoing compulsory therapy do not participate in the elections.

Article 3. Equal suffrage

Elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies are equal: Each voter has one vote and voters participate in the elections on an equal basis.

Women and men have equal rights to vote.

Military servicemen have the same right to vote as all other citizens.

Article 4. Direct suffrage

Elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies are direct: People's deputies are elected by the citizens directly.

Article 5. Secret voting

Voting in elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies is secret: Monitoring the expression of the will of the voters is not allowed.

Article 6. Suffrage of citizens of other union republics

Citizens of other union republics living on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR have the same voting rights as citizens of the Ukrainian SSR.

Article 7. Conducting of elections by election commissions.

Elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies are organized by election commissions from representatives of labor collectives, social organizations, collectives of trade-technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational institutions, meetings of voters in their place of residence, and military servicemen in their military units.

Article 8. Openness in preparing for and conducting elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies

Election commissions, labor collectives, and social organizations prepare for and conduct elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies openly and publicly.

The election commissions inform the citizens of their work, of the formation of electoral okrugs, and the composition, location, time of work of the election commissions and the voter lists. The election commissions notify the voters of the candidates who are nominated for people's deputies and inform them of the results of the registration of candidate deputies, the biographical data on the registered candidates, the results of the voting for each candidate, and the results of the elections.

Representatives of labor collectives, social organizations, collectives of vocational-technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational institutions, meetings of voters in their place of residence and military servicemen in their military units, and organs of state authority and their representatives have the right to be present at meetings of the election commissions, including when candidate deputies are being registered , when the votes are being counted for the electoral section, when the results of the okrug are determined, and when the overall results of the election are summed up. The authority of the aforementioned representatives is certified by the appropriate document. The corresponding election commissions must be notified of the intention of representatives to be present on the day of the elections in the polling places or at meetings of the electoral commission no later than 2 days before the elections. Interference by the aforementioned representatives in the work of the election commissions is not allowed.

The mass media cover the course of preparing for and conducting the elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies in Ukrainian, Russian, and other languages used by the population, and their representatives are guaranteed unimpeded access to all gatherings and meetings related to the elections. election commissions, state and social organs, and labor collectives give them information related to preparing for and conducting the elections.

Article 9. Participation of citizens, labor collectives, and social organizations in preparing for and conducting elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies

Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR participate in preparing for and conducting elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies both through the labor collectives, social organizations, and collectives of vocational-technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational institutions, and meetings of voters in their place of residence and military servicemen in their military units, and also directly.

Labor collectives and social organizations participate in preparing for and conducting elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies both through their representatives on the electoral commissions and directly.

Article 10. The right to nominate candidates for Ukrainian SSR people's deputies

The right to nominate candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputies is enjoyed by labor collectives, social organizations, collectives of vocational-technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational institutions, and meetings of voters in their place of residence and military servicemen in their military units that are stationed on the territory of the given electoral okrug.

Article 11. Mandates from voters to Ukrainian SSR people's deputies

Voters give mandates to their deputies.

The procedure for introducing, generalizing, considering, and organizing the fulfillment of mandates is established by laws of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR.

Article 12. The incompatibility of the status of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies and an official position

Individuals who are members of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, leaders of departments of the Ukrainian SSR, the chairman and members of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court, representatives and members of oblast courts and the Kiev city court, the head state arbitrator and state arbitrators of the Ukrainian SSR, and the chairman and members of the committee for constitutional supervision of the Ukrainian SSR are not allowed to be Ukrainian SSR people's deputies.

Article 13. Expenditures involved in elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies. Material support for elections.

Expenditures involved in preparing for and conducting elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies are made by the election commissions from a unified centralized fund formed by the Central Election Commission for elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies from state money and money from enterprises and social and other organizations in order to provide equal conditions for each candidate deputy.

Enterprises, institutions and organizations, and state and social organs place at the disposal of the election commissions premises, equipment, and means of transportation necessary for preparing for and conducting the elections.

Candidates for Ukrainian SSR people's deputies, their agents, and the voters do not pay for expenditures involved in preparing for and conducting elections.

Article 14. Liability for violating legislation on elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies

Individuals who use violence, deception, intimidation, or any other means to impede the free exercise by Ukrainian SSR citizens of their right to elect and be elected Ukrainian SSR people's deputies and conduct pre-election campaigning, individuals who publicly call for or promote the boycotting of elections, and also members of election commissions and officials of state and social organs who have forged voting documents, deliberately miscounted the votes, violated the secrecy of the voting, or allowed any other violations of the present law are held liable as established by law. Individuals who publish or in any other way disseminate what they know to be false information about candidate deputies are also held liable.

II. Procedure for scheduling elections and forming electoral okrugs

Article 15. Scheduling elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies

Elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies are scheduled by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet no later than 4 months before the expiration of the term of office of the Ukrainian SSR people's deputies.

The day of the elections is announced in the press.

Article 16. The formation of electoral okrugs

450 electoral okrugs are formed for the election of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies.

The electoral okrugs are formed by the Central Election Commission for elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies upon application from oblast or the Kiev or Sevastopol soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums.

One Ukrainian SSR people's deputy is elected from each electoral okrug.

Article 17. The procedure for forming electoral okrugs

Electoral okrugs for electing Ukrainian SSR people's deputies are formed with approximately equal numbers of voters throughout the entire territory of the Ukrainian SSR. When determining the boundaries of the electoral okrugs one takes into account the administrative-territorial structure of the Ukrainian SSR. The norm of voters per electoral okrug is established for each election by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The list of electoral okrugs with an indication of their boundaries, names and centers of the okrugs, and numbers of voters in them is published by the Central Election Commission no later than 10 days after the scheduling of the elections.

III. Electoral districts

Article 18. Formation of electoral districts

In order to conduct voting and count the votes in elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies the territory of the rayons, cities, and rayons under city jurisdiction included in the electoral okrugs are divided into electoral districts. Electoral districts are also formed in military units and are included in the electoral okrugs in the place where the units are stationed.

In hospitals and other permanent treatment institutions, in regions with places with difficult access where citizens are located, and also on ships that are at sea on the day of the elections, electoral districts can be formed and included in the electoral okrugs corresponding to the place where they are located or the ports of registration of ships. Electoral districts can be formed, if the necessary conditions exist, in representative institutions of the Ukrainian SSR abroad as well.

Article 19. Procedure and norm for formation of electoral districts

Electoral districts are formed by rayon, city (except cities under rayon jurisdiction), and rayon-in-city soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums in conjunction with okrug election commissions. In military units electoral districts are formed by the corresponding soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums upon application from the commanders of units or military formations. On ships that are at sea on the day of the election electoral districts are formed by the corresponding soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums in the ship's port of registration. In institutions representing the Ukrainian SSR abroad electoral districts are formed by the soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums upon application from the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Electoral districts are formed no later than 2 months before the elections. In military units and also in regions with difficult access and on ships that are at sea on the day of the elections, electoral districts are formed by the same deadline and in exceptional cases, no later than 5 days before the elections.

The corresponding soviet of people's deputies or its presidium notifies the voters of the boundaries of each electoral district with an indication of the location of the district election commission and the polling place.

IV. Election commissions

Article 20. The system of election commissions

Election commissions are formed for conducting elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies:

the Central Election Commission for elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies;

okrug election commissions for elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies;

district election commissions.

Article 21. Formation of the Central Election Commission for elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies

The Central Election Commission for elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies is formed by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet upon application from oblast and the Kiev and Sevastopol city soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums, taking into account the proposals of labor collectives or their councils, organs of social organizations, collectives of vocational-technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational institutions, meetings of voters in their place of residence and military servicemen in their military units, and also upon application from republic organs of social organizations no later than 4 months before the elections, and these commissions consist of a chairman, two deputy chairmen, a secretary, and 27 commission members.

The term of office of the Central Election Commission is 5 years.

Article 22. The authority of the Central Election Commission in elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies.

The Central Election Commission for elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies:

1) organizes preparing for and conducting elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies;

2) throughout the entire territory of the Ukrainian SSR monitors the implementation of the present law and provides for its uniform application; gives clarifications of the policy for applying the law, and, if necessary, goes to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet with ideas for interpreting it;

3) forms electoral okrugs;

4) directs the activity of the election commissions;

5) solves problems of registering electoral districts located outside the Ukrainian SSR in electoral okrugs on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR;

6) distributes funds among the election commissions; checks on the provision of premises, transportation, and communications for the election commissions and considers other issues of material and technical support for the elections;

7) establishes the forms of the ballots for elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies, voter lists, protocols of re-election meetings of election commissions and other election documents, models of ballot boxes and seals of election commissions, and the procedure for storing election documents;

8) hears reports from ministries, state committees, and departments of the Ukrainian SSR and other state and social organs regarding questions related to preparing for and conducting the elections;

9) registers elected deputies, sums up the results of the elections for the republic as a whole, and publishes in the press an announcement of the results of the elections and a list of the elected Ukrainian SSR people's deputies;

10) submits to the mandate commission of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet the documentation necessary for verifying the authority of the deputies;

11) solves problems related to holding repeat elections;

12) considers questions of abolishing a decision to register a candidate deputy in cases envisioned by article 40 of the present law;

13) solves problems related to organizing the recall of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies;

14) schedules elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies to replace those who are leaving and provides for conducting these elections;

15) considers applications and complaints about decisions and actions of election commissions, overturns commission decisions, halts their effect, or makes other decisions regarding these issues. Decisions of the Central Election Commission are final;

16) exercises other authority in keeping with the present law and other laws of the Ukrainian SSR.

Article 23. Formation of okrug election commissions

An okrug election commission is formed in each electoral okrug for elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies no later than 20 days after the elections are scheduled and consists of 9-15 members.

Representatives on the okrug election commission are nominated by labor collectives or their councils, oblast, rayon, city, and rayon-in-city social organizations or their executive organs, collectives of vocational-technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational institutions, and meetings of voters in their place of residence and of military servicemen in the military units.

Okrug election commissions for electing Ukrainian SSR people's deputies are formed by the corresponding oblast or Kiev and Sevastopol city soviet of people's deputies or its presidium.

The term of office of the okrug election commissions expires after the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet recognizes the authority of the elected people's deputies.

Article 24. Authority of the okrug election commission

The okrug election commission for elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies:

1) monitors the implementation of the present law on the territory of the electoral okrug;

2) checks on the correctness of the formation of electoral districts and establishes a unified numeration of electoral districts for the okrug;

3) directs the activity of the district election commissions;

4) hears reports from executive and action organs of local soviets of people's deputies, leaders of enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and also organs of social organizations on questions related to preparing for and conducting the elections;

5) observes the compilation of voter lists and their presentation for general familiarization;

6) contributes to the organization of the nomination of candidate deputies;

7) registers nominated candidate deputies and their agents, issues them the appropriate certificates, and provides for the publication of posters with biographical data about the candidate deputies;

8) in conjunction with the corresponding soviet of people's deputies or its presidium, labor collectives, and organs of social organizations, organizes meetings of candidate deputies with the voters both of labor collectives and in their place of residence;

9) approves the text of the ballot for the electoral okrug and provides for manufacturing the ballots and supplying them to the district election commissions;

10) establishes and publishes in the press the results of the elections for the electoral okrug and issues a certificate to the elected deputy;

11) organizes repeat voting and repeat elections and also elections of deputies to replace those who have left;

12) considers applications and complaints about decisions and actions of the district election commissions and makes decisions regarding them;

13) exercises other authority in keeping with the present law.

Article 25. Formation of district election commissions

The district election commission is formed no later than 45 days before the elections and consists of 5-19 members. If necessary, by a decision of the corresponding soviet of people's deputies or its presidium the number of members on the district election commission can be increased or decreased.

Representatives on the district election commission are nominated by labor collectives or their councils, rayon, city, or rayon-in-city organs of social organizations or their executive organs, local organizations of social organizations or their organs, public village, rural, street, block, section, or building committees, collectives of vocational-technical secondary specialized and higher educational institutions, and meetings of voters in their place of residence and military servicemen in their military units.

In labor collectives and collectives of vocational-technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational institutions with more than 200 people the nomination of representatives to the district election commission can be conducted at meetings of collectives of shops, departments, sections, brigades, and other subdivisions of enterprises, institutions, organizations, and educational institutions if there are no fewer than 20 people in these subdivisions.

District election commissions are formed by rayon, city (except for cities under rayon jurisdiction), and rayon-in-city soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums.

The term of office of the district election commissions expires after the recognition by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet of the authority of the elected people's deputies.

Article 26. Authority of the district election commission

The district election commission:

1) compiles the list of voters in the district;

2) familiarizes the voters with the list of voters, accepts and considers statements concerning mistakes in the list, and decides the issue of making the appropriate changes in it;

3) accepts ballots in sealed envelops from voters who have changed their location during the period between the presentation of the voter lists for public familiarization and the day of the elections and provides for secret voting by the voters;

4) notifies the population of the day of the election and the polling place;

5) provides for preparation of the polling place and the voting booths;

6) Organizes voting on the day of the election in the electoral district;

7) counts the votes cast in the electoral district;

8) considers applications and complaints regarding questions of preparing for the elections and organizing the voting and makes decisions regarding them;

9) exercises other authority in keeping with the present law.

Article 27. Procedure for nominating representatives on election commissions and changing their composition

In order to determine the labor collectives, social organizations, public village, rural, street, block, section, and building committees, the collectives of vocational-technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational institutions, and meetings of voters in their place of residence and military servicemen in their military units who nominate representatives on the election commissions, the corresponding soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums can conduct conferences of authorized labor collectives, social organizations, public village, rural, street, block, section, and building committees of collectives of vocational-technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational institutions, and meetings of voters in their place of residence and military servicemen in their military units within the electoral okrug or electoral district.

The announcement of the composition of the election commissions and their leaders are published for general information.

A person included on the electoral commission can be relieved of his duties on the commission by the organ that formed the commission, at his personal request, or by application from the labor collective, its subdivision, or the labor collective council, the organ of the social organization or its executive organ, the local organization of the social organization or its organ, the public village, rural, street, block, section, or building committee, the collective of the vocational-technical, secondary specialized, or higher educational institution, or the meeting of voters in their place of residence or military servicemen in their military unit who have nominated this individual for the commission. The chairman, deputy chairman, and secretary of the election commission can be relieved of their duties but on their personal request and on the initiative of the commission itself. The nomination of a new representative on the election commission and his approval and also the election of a new chairman, deputy chairman, or secretary of the commission are carried out according to the procedure established by the present law.

Article 28. Organization of the work of the election commissions

The chairman, deputy chairman, and secretary of the election commission are elected at a meeting of the corresponding commission.

Meetings of the election commission are authorized if no less than two-thirds of the commission members are present. Decisions of the commission are made by open voting with a majority of the votes of all the members of the commission. Members of the commission who do not agree with the decision have the right to express a special opinion which is appended in written form to the minutes of the meeting of the election commission.

Decisions of the election commissions adopted within the limits of their authority are mandatory for execution by all state and social organs, enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

Decisions and actions of the election commission can be appealed to a higher election commission and, in cases envisioned by the present law, also to the court.

An individual included on the election commission, by its decision, can be released during the period of preparing for and conducting the elections from his production and job duties while retaining his average earnings which are paid from funds allotted for conducting the elections.

Article 29. Assisting the election commissions in exercising their authority

State and social organs, enterprises, institutions, organizations, and officials are obliged to assist election commissions in exercising their authority and to give them the information and materials necessary for their work.

The election commission has the right when dealing with questions related to preparing for and conducting elections to appeal to state an social organs, enterprises, institutions, organizations, and officials, who are obliged to consider the question that has been submitted and give the election commission an answer within no more than 3 days.

V. Voter lists

Article 30. The list of voters and the procedure for compiling it

The list of voters for elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies is drawn up for each electoral district and is signed by the chairman and secretary of the district election commission. The district election commission may enlist representatives of the public to participate in the work of compiling the list.

Lists of voters who are military servicemen stationed in military units and also members of families of military servicemen and other voters living in the regions where military units are located are compiled on the basis of data submitted by the commanders of the military units. Military servicemen living outside the military units are included on the voter lists in their place of residence like everyone else.

Voter lists for election districts formed in hospitals and other permanent treatment institutions and also on ships that are at sea on the day of the elections and people in representative institutions of the Ukrainian SSR abroad are drawn up on the basis of data submitted by the leaders of the aforementioned institutions and by ship captains.

The names of the voters are indicated on the voter lists in an order that is convenient for organizing the voting.

Article 31. Procedure for including citizens on voter lists

The voter lists include all citizens of the Ukrainian SSR who have reached 18 years of age by the day of the elections who are living on the territory of the given election district at the time the lists are drawn up and who have the right to participate in the voting.

A voter can be included on the voter list in only one election district.

Voters living on the territory of a given election district who for any reason have been omitted from the list are included on it by a decision of the section election district.

Article 32. Familiarization of citizens with voter lists and the right to appeal mistakes on voter lists

Voter lists are submitted for general familiarization 15 days before the elections. In election districts formed in hospitals and other permanent therapy institutions and also, in exceptional cases, in military units and on ships that are at sea on the day of the elections are given the voter lists 2 days before the elections.

Citizens are given the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the voter list and verify the correctness of the way it was compiled in the premises of the section district commission.

Each citizen is given the right to appeal a failure to be included or incorrect inclusion on the list or exclusion from the list and also mistakes made in indicating the information about the voter. A statement of mistakes on the list is considered by the district election commission, which is obliged to consider the statement within no more than 2 days and on the eve of election day, immediately, and to make the necessary corrections to the list or to give the voter a copy of the justified decision not to act on his statement. This decision can be appealed to the rayon (city) people's court no later than 5 days before the election and it must consider the complaint within 3 days. The decision of the rayon (city) people's court is final. A correction on the voters list in keeping with the court decision is made immediately by the district election commission.

Article 33. Ensuring suffrage for citizens when they change locations

When a voter changes location during the period between the presentation of the voter lists for general familiarization and the day of the elections the district election commission at he request of the voter and upon presentation of his passport or other identification document issues a ballot. The completed ballot in a sealed envelope is placed by the voter in a sealed or stamped ballot box and is kept by the district election commission until the day of the elections. An appropriate not is made on the voter list to the effect that the ballot has been issued.

VI. Nomination and registration of candidate people's deputies

Article 34. Procedure for nomination of candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputies

The nomination of candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputies begins 3 months before the elections and ends 2 months before them.

Candidate deputies are nominated:

1) at meetings (conferences) of labor collectives, collectives of vocational-technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational institutions with no less than 200 people. With the agreement of the corresponding okrug election commission the labor collectives, collectives of vocational-technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational institutions with small numbers of people can conduct combined meetings. Then the overall number of participants in the meetings should be no less than 200;

2) at congresses, conferences, plenums, and general meetings of oblast, rayon, city, and rayon-in-city organs of social organizations;

3) at meetings of voters in their place of residence convened by the corresponding soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums in conjunction with the okrug election commission both on their initiative and at the suggestion of the public village, rural, street, block, section, and building committees. A proposal to hold a meeting is considered by the soviet of people's deputies

or its presidium in conjunction with the okrug election commission within 3 days. The date, time, and place for holding the meeting are set and the voters are notified of them in good time. The meeting is authorized if no less than 200 voters living on the corresponding territory of the electoral okrug participate in it. When a proposals to hold a meeting of the voters in the place of residence is denied the public village, rural, street, block, section, or building committee is given a copy of the decision with the justification. It can be appealed within 3 days to the Central Election Commission, whose decision is final.

4) at meetings of military servicemen convened by the command of the military units.

At meetings and gatherings of organs of social organizations conditions are created for nominating an unlimited number of candidates. Each participant in the meeting or gathering of the organ of the social organization has to right to make suggestions about candidate deputies, to participate in the discussion of them, to support the proposed candidacies or make suggestions to withdraw them, and to nominate themselves as candidate deputies. One candidate deputy is nominated from a labor collective or combined meeting of several labor collectives, social organization, collective of a vocational-technical, secondary specialized, or higher educational institution, or meeting of voters in their place of residence or military servicemen in their military units. The decision to nominate a candidate deputy is made by open or secret voting. The procedure for voting is established by the meeting or organ of the social organization.

A candidate deputy is considered nominated if more than half of the participants in the meeting or the meeting of the corresponding organ of the social organization have voted for him. A protocol is drawn up concerning the nomination of a candidate deputy which is sent to the okrug election commission within no more than 3 days. The candidate deputy is notified of the decision that was made within no more than 2 days.

Candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputies are nominated by citizens living on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR.

Article 35. Registration of candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputies

Candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputies are registered by the okrug election commission upon application from the labor collectives, organs of social organizations, collectives of vocational-technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational institutions, and meetings of voters in their place of residence and military servicemen in their military units who have nominated the candidate deputies.

Any number of candidates can be submitted for registration for the electoral okrug.

Registration of candidate deputies begins 2 months before the elections and ends 1 month before them.

A decision to register candidate deputies is made when the following documents are available: minutes of meetings or gatherings of the corresponding organs of social organizations for the nomination of candidate deputies for the given electoral okrug and also statements from candidate deputies concerning their agreement to run in the given electoral okrug. Individuals listed in article 12 of the present law, when they are nominated as candidate deputies indicate in their statements an intention to leave the positions they hold in the event they are elected as deputies or announce the withdrawal of their candidacies. When individuals who are deputies in two other soviets of people's deputies are nominated as candidate deputies, in their statements they indicate their intention to relinquish their deputy authority in one of the soviets in the event that they are elected people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR or else they announce the withdrawal of their candidacies. The okrug election commission draws up a protocol of the registration of candidate deputies which, along with the statements of the candidate deputies, is sent to the Central Election Commission.

The okrug election commission registers the candidate deputies who have been nominated in observance of the requirements of the present law. A refusal to register them can be appealed within 3 days to the Central Election Commission.

Candidate deputies may run in only one electoral okrug.

A candidate deputy may not be on the Central Election Commission or on the okrug or section election commission of the electoral okrug which nominated him. An individual who has been nominated as a candidate deputy and is on one of the aforementioned commissions is considered relieved of his duties on the commission from the moment of his registration as a candidate deputy.

The okrug election commission no later than the fourth day after the registration of the candidate deputies publishes in the press an announcement of the registration with an indication of the surname, given name, patronymic, year of birth, position held (occupation) party affiliation, and place of employment and residence of each candidate deputy.

Article 36. Revocation of a decision to nominate a candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputy. A candidate's withdrawal of his own candidacy.

The labor collective, the organ of the social organization, the collective of the vocational-technical, secondary specialized, or higher educational institution, and the meeting of the voters in their place of residence and military servicemen in the military unit that has nominated the candidate people's deputy of the Ukrainian SSR has the right at any time before the elections to revoke the decision to nominate a candidate deputy. The decision regarding this issue is made according to the procedure envisioned for the nomination of candidate deputies and is sent to the okrug election commission.

Candidate deputies may withdraw their candidacy at any time before the day of the election by submitting an application to the okrug election commission.

The okrug election commission notifies the population of the electoral okrug of the revocation of a decision to nominate a candidate deputy or the candidate's withdrawal of his own candidacy.

Article 37. Procedure for nominating candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputies to replace those who have withdrawn

In the event that candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputies withdraw after being registered by the corresponding okrug election commission, if there are no other candidates in the electoral okrug, the okrug election commission asks the labor collectives, social organizations, collectives of vocational-technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational institutions, and meetings of voters in their place of residence and military servicemen in their military units to nominate new candidate deputies. When candidate deputies withdraw less than a month before the elections, the election of deputies from the corresponding electoral okrug is held within 2 months after the general elections.

Candidate deputies to replace those who have withdrawn are nominated according to the procedure established by the present law.

Article 38. The ballot

The ballot includes in alphabetical order all the registered candidate people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR with an indication of the surname, given name, patronymic, positions held (occupation), and place of residence and employment of each candidate deputy. The ballots are printed in the languages used by the population of the electoral okrug.

Ballots are issued to the district election commissions no later than 15 days before the elections.

VII. Guarantees of the activity of Ukrainian SSR candidate people's deputies

Article 39. The right of the candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputies to speak at meetings, use the mass media, and obtain information

Candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputies from the time of their registration by election commissions have an equal right to speak at pre-election and other meetings, conferences, and gatherings, in the press, and on radio and television. The material and technical means for campaigning in the electoral okrug should be equal for all candidate deputies.

State and social organs, leaders of enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and public village, rural, street, block, section, and building committees must render candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputies assistance in organizing meetings with the voters and obtaining the necessary reference and informational materials.

Candidate deputies are not allowed to take advantage of their positions to conduct their election campaigns.

Article 40. The pre-election program of the candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputies

Candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputies present a program of the future activity. The program of the candidate deputy must not contain appeals to overthrow or change through violence the Soviet state and social structure which is reinforced by the USSR Constitution and the Ukrainian SSR Constitution or the flaring up of ethnic or racial animosity or dissension. In the event of a violation of this requirement the Central Election Commission at the request of the okrug election commission in keeping with a conclusion of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court may consider the question of revoking the decision to register the candidate deputy. The Supreme Court must consider this question within 3 days.

Article 41. Pre-election campaigning

Labor collectives, social organizations, collectives of vocational-technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational institutions, and voters in their place of residence and military servicemen in their military units who have nominated candidate deputies are granted the right to campaign unimpeded for their candidates from the time their registered by the election commissions.

Labor collectives, social organizations, collectives of vocational-technical, secondary specialized, and higher educational institutions, and voters in their place of residence and military servicemen in their military units are granted by the election commissions equipped premises for meetings and also access to mass media for election campaigning.

Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR, labor collectives, and social organizations are guaranteed the opportunity for free and comprehensive discussion of the political, business, and personal qualities of the candidate deputes and also the right to campaign for or against a candidate in meetings, in the press, and on radio and television.

Ukrainian SSR candidate people's deputies get together with their constituents both at meetings and in other forms of assembly that are convenient for the voters. Meetings of voters are organized by the election commission in conjunction with the corresponding soviet of people's deputies or its presidium, labor collectives, and organs of social organizations.

The times and places of the meetings and gatherings are announced to the voters in good time.

Organizers and participants in meetings and other pre-election measures must observe Soviet laws and public order.

Campaigning is not allowed on the day of the election.

Article 42. Agents of the candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputies

The candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputy may have up to five agents who help him to conduct the election campaign, campaign for his election as deputy, and represent the candidate's interests in relations with state and social organs, voters, and also in election commissions.

Candidate deputies determine their agents and their own discretion and report their names to the okrug election commission for registration. After the agents are registered the election commission issues them certificates. The agent may not serve on an election commission within the okrug in which his candidate is running. A candidate deputy has the right to replace his agents at any time.

The authority of the candidate's agents ends after the results of the election in the electoral okrug are summed up.

Article 43. Release of candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputy from production or job duties in order for him to participate in pre-election measures

The candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputy after registration is released from his production or job duties while retaining his average earnings to be paid from fund allotted for conducting the elections in order to hold meetings with the voters and to speak at pre-election meetings and on radio and television.

Article 44. The right of the candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputy to free travel

The candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputy after registration has the right to free travel on all kinds of passenger transportation (with the exception of taxis) within the corresponding electoral okrug. The candidate deputy who lives outside the electoral okrug has the same right for traveling to the electoral okrug and returning to his place of residence.

Article 45. Immunity of candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputies

Candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputies cannot be held criminally liable, arrested, or subjected to measures of administrative punishment judicially imposed without the agreement of the Central Election Commission.

VIII. Procedure for voting and summing up result of elections

Article 46. Time and place of voting

With elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies the voting is held on the day of the elections from 0700 to 2000 hours. The district election commission notifies the voters of the time and place of the voting no later than 10 days before the elections.

In election districts formed in military units, in regions with difficult access, on ships that are at sea on the day of the elections, and also in institutions representing the Ukrainian SSR abroad, the district election commission may declare the polls closed before 2000 hours if all the voters included on the voter list have voted.

Article 47. Organization of voting

The voting is conducted in especially allotted premises in which a sufficient number of booths or rooms for secret voting must be installed, places for turning in ballots have been established, and ballot boxes have been installed. The ballot boxes are installed in such a way that the voters when they approach them must go through the booths or rooms for secret voting.

The district election commission is responsible for organizing the voting, ensuring secrecy of the expression of the will of the voters, equipping the premises, and maintaining the necessary order in them.

On the day of the elections before the beginning of the voting the ballot boxes are inspected, sealed, and stamped by the chairman of the district election commission in the presence of members of the commission.

Each voter votes personally; voting for other people is not allowed. The ballots are issued by the district election commission on the basis of the voter list of the electoral district when the voter presents his passport or other document certifying his identity. A note is made on the voter list when the ballot is issued.

In cases when individual voters because of their health or other factors are unable to come to the premises to vote, the district election commission at their request instructs individual members of the commission to organize voting in the place where these voters are located.

Article 48. Conducting the voting

The ballot is filled out by the voter in the booth or room for secret voting. Nobody except the voter is allowed to be present when the ballot is filled out. A voter who is unable to fill out the ballot by himself has the right to invite into the secret voting booth or room another individual at his discretion except for a member of the election commission.

In elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies the voter crosses out on the ballot the names of candidate deputies against whom he is voting.

The voter drops the filled-out ballot into the ballot box.

Article 49. Counting votes in the electoral district

The votes are counted in the electoral district by the district election commission individually for each candidate deputy.

The ballot boxes and also the sealed envelopes turned in to the district election commission by voters who have changed their location are opened up by the district election commission after the commission chairman declares the polls to be closed. It is forbidden to open the ballot boxes and envelopes before the voting is over. Before the ballot boxes and envelopes are opened all unutilized ballots are counted and destroyed by the district election commission.

From the list of voters the district election commission establishes the overall number of voters in the section and also the number of voters who have received ballots and have turned in sealed envelopes. On the basis of the ballots that are in the ballot boxes and envelopes the commission establishes: the overall number of voters who have participated in the voting; the number of votes cast for and the number of votes cast against each candidate deputy; and the number of ballots declared invalid. Votes are not counted for the names of candidates written in by the voters.

Nonstandard ballots and also ballots on which more than one candidate was not crossed out are also declared invalid. When there are doubts about the validity of a ballot the issue is resolved by the district election commission through voting.

The results of the vote count are discussed at a meeting of the district election commission and entered in a protocol. The protocol is signed by the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary and members of the commission and are immediately sent to the okrug election commission according to the procedure established by the Central Election Commission.

Article 50. Establishing the results of the election for the electoral okrug

Establishing the results of the elections for the electoral okrug

On the basis of the protocols of the district election commissions they determine: the overall number of voters in the okrug; the number of voters who have received ballots; the number of voters who have participated in the voting; the number of votes cast for and against each candidate deputy; and the number of ballots declared invalid.

The candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputy who has received more than half of the votes of voters who participated in the election is declared elected.

The okrug election commission can declare elections invalid because of violations of the present law committed during the course of the elections or the counting of the votes.

The elections are declared not to have occurred if less than half the voters on the voter lists have participated in them and also if all the candidate deputies registered for the okrug have withdrawn.

The results of the elections for the electoral okrug are established at a meeting of the okrug election commission and are entered in a protocol. The protocol is signed by the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and members of the commission and is sent to the Central Election Commission according to the procedure established by it.

The report on the results of the elections is published in the press by the okrug election commission within a time period established by the Central Election Commission. The report indicates: the overall number of citizens included on the voter lists; the number of voters who participated in the voting; the number of votes cast for and against each candidate deputy; the number of invalid ballots; and the surname, given name, patronymic, year of birth, position held (employment), party affiliation, and place of work and residence of the elected deputy.

IX. Procedure for summing up and publishing the results of elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies

Article 51. Registration of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies

For elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies the Central Election Commission, on the basis of protocols of the okrug election commissions that it has received, registers the elected Ukrainian SSR people's deputies.

The Central Election Commission may declare elections invalid if during the course of the elections or when the votes were being counted or when the results of the elections were being determined there have been violations of the present law and it may refuse to register the candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputy.

Article 52. Publication of the results of elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies

The report of the results of elections in the republic as a whole and the list of elected Ukrainian SSR people's deputies is published by the Central Election Commission in the press no later than the 10th day after the elections in alphabetical order with an indication of the surname, given name, patronymic, position held (employment), party affiliation, and places of work and residence of the deputy and the electoral okrug from which he was elected a deputy.

Article 53. Certificate and badge of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies

After the publication in the press of the list of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies registered by the Central Election Commission, the okrug election commission issues a certificate of election to each elected people's deputy.

After the recognition by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet of the authority of the elected deputies the certificates of election are replaced by the certificate of the Ukrainian SSR people's deputy. The deputy is also issued a badge that says "People's Deputy of the Ukrainian SSR."

X. Repeat voting, repeat elections, and elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies to replace those who have withdrawn

Article 54. Repeat voting

If more than two candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputies have run in the electoral okrug and neither of them has been elected, the okrug election commission makes a decision to conduct repeat voting on the two candidate deputies who have received the largest number of votes in the okrug. The okrug election commission reports this decision to the Central Election Commission and informs the voters of the okrug. The repeat voting in the electoral okrug is held within no more than 2 weeks in observance of the requirements of the present law.

The candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputy who is declared elected is the one who received the larger number of votes from voters who participated in the repeat voting.

Article 55. Repeat elections

If no more than two candidate Ukrainian SSR people's deputies have run and neither has been elected or the elections for the electoral okrug have been declared nullified or invalid or the repeat voting did not make it possible to determine the deputy who was elected, the Central Election Commission instructs the okrug election commission to hold repeat elections in the okrug. It can also decide that it is necessary for the elections to be conducted by newly formed okrug and district election commissions.

Repeat elections are held no later than 2 months after the general elections. The voting is done in the same election sections and from voter lists compiled for conducting the general elections. The formation of election commissions, the nomination and registration of candidate deputies, and other measures are conducted according to the procedure established by the present law. The electoral okrugs are informed of the holding of repeat elections.

Candidate who have not received the necessary number of votes and have not been elected people's deputies do not run in the repeat elections.

Article 56. Holding elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies to replace those who have withdrawn

In the event that the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet declares the authority of individual Ukrainian SSR people's deputies to be invalid and also in the case of the recall of a deputy or early curtailment of the deputy's authority for other reasons, new elections are held in the corresponding electoral okrugs within 3 months after the deputy's resignation. The elections are scheduled by the Central Election Commission no later than 2 months before they are to be held and they are organized in observance of the requirements of the present law. Moreover, the okrug election commission is formed 50 days before the election and the district election commissions a month before the election and registration of candidate deputies ends a month before the elections. The voter lists are submitted for general familiarization 10 days before the elections.

In the event of the resignation of a Ukrainian SSR people's deputy less than a year before the expiration of the term of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies, no election is held to elect a new Ukrainian SSR people's deputy to replace the one who has resigned.

Resolution On Ukrainian Party Organization Work

90UN0216A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 20 Oct 89 p 1

[Resolution of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum: "Tasks of Party Organizations of the Republic in Implementing the Decisions of the September (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] 1. The Central Committee Plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party notes that the decisions of the September (1989) CPSU Central Committee Plenum reflect the urgent requirements of development of the CPSU and Soviet society under today's conditions, and they provide a response to critical questions involving our present, very complex, stage of perestroyka. Implementation of these decisions will comprise an important step on the path to renovating the party and the Soviet federation in the interests of all the nations and peoples of the USSR, and to affirming the principles and values of socialism. The conclusions drawn at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum and its decision to convene the 28th Party Congress comprise a basis for the practical work of party organizations in the republic in surmounting economic and social difficulties, eliminating negative phenomena, and consolidating all viable forces around the platform of perestroyka.

In the complicated political situation which has evolved in our society, the plenum considers it necessary to speak out unambiguously in favor of CPSU unity, to dissociate ourselves from the idea of constructing the party on principles of federalism. The plenum resolutely condemns attempts to oppose the people, the working class of the party, and the Soviet state, to push the CPSU aside from the political leadership, to negate the entirety of its difficult struggle to achieve socialism. The Communist Party has been and remains the main leading, organizing, and consolidating force of our society, international in its composition, with a unified program and statutes built on the principles of democratic centralism.

Without its purposeful influence on all aspects of social life, perestroyka would be impossible.

Noting that party committees of the republic in recent times have been more intensively assimilating political work methods, the plenum directs their attention to the fact that the level and quality of party direction of sociopolitical processes still does not respond to real-life requirements or to the needs of perestroyka. Obkoms [oblast party committees], gorkoms [city party committees], and raykoms [rayon party committees] often lag behind in the dynamics of social processes; they operate sluggishly and are late in evaluating the state of affairs in the economic and social sphere. They are slow in developing realistic methods of solving problems and do not always seize the initiative in resolving issues that trouble people.

Proceeding from what is stipulated in the September Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the Politburo, commissions of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, and primary party organizations must subordinate all their organizational and political work with respect to preparation for the regular 28th CPSU Congress and 28th Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party to the radical restructuring of their forms and methods of political direction in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres, to the resolution of problems involving democratization of intra-party life and enhanced activity on the part of communists. Preparation for the congress must organically intertwine with the thorough restructuring of their work, with the constructive discussion of all vital issues and all matters of party activity under today's conditions. All of this work must be accomplished openly, taking into account the views of communists and the entire community. An integrated plan of action must be developed regarding preparation for the congress to include all the most important political, socioeconomic, organizational, and ideological tasks. The proposals of party organizations and communists on the CPSU political platform and CPSU Statutes must be generalized. We must start to prepare a program of action for the party organization of the republic under today's conditions.

2. The Central Committee Plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party approves of the CPSU platform "Nationalities Policy of the Party Under Today's Conditions" and notes that the CPSU is creating the necessary conditions for overcoming deformations in interethnic relations, for effecting harmonious development of relations in our modern stage, and is affording a real opportunity for expanding the rights and consolidating the sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] within the framework of the Soviet federation.

The age-old dream of the Ukrainian people of its own state has been realized on the basis of the Leninist nationalities policy. Voluntary union with the other Soviet republics in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has afforded the Ukraine the opportunity to create a powerful economic and spiritual potential, to reunify all Ukrainian lands. At the same time, the plenum notes that under conditions of the cult of personality and its command-administrative system, the national development needs of peoples were often ignored, and the sovereignty of republics—including the Ukrainian SSR—became to a great extent a formality. Supercentralism and absolutization of the branch principle of management inflicted great harm on the integrated development of the national economy of the republic and adversely affected the ecological situation. Underestimating the significance of the ethnic originality of the Ukrainian people, of Ukrainian spiritual life and traditions, and showing disdain for the cultural-ethnic needs of people of other nationalities served to aggravate problems concerning the functioning of national languages, the development of education and culture. The consequences were tragic for the Ukraine, as well as for all the republics of the USSR, when unfounded repressions were conducted against party and soviet cadre, representatives of national intelligentsia, and other segments of the population.

Perestroyka and the party's policy to effect a revolutionary renovation of society have provided an impetus for growth in the national consciousness of the people, opportunities for harmonizing interethnic relations and overcoming nihilist attitudes towards ethnic cultural achievements, improvement of the development and expansion of the sphere of application of the Ukrainian language, the free study and use of other languages, the preservation of the historical legacy and natural environment, and a fuller satisfaction of the sociocultural needs and requirements of the population, taking into account their ethnic structure and reinforcing people's patriotic and internationalist education. The plenum approves the work of the Politburo of the Central Committee, conducted on the basis of resolutions adopted by the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party in August 1987 and January 1989 on questions involving the improvement of interethnic relations, improvement of patriotic and internationalist education of the population.

However, party organizations are still slow in restructuring this effort. The ethnic factor in organizational-political and ideological activity is not adequately taken into account. Attempts on the part of extremists to exacerbate artificially the nationalities question and sow seeds of discord among people are not always rebuffed. This has a negative effect on the political environment, alarms people, and interferes with their peaceful labor.

The plenum directs the Politburo, commissions of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms to develop and implement plans for the practical realization of the ideas and provisions laid down in the CPSU platform on the party's nationalities policy, envisioning here establishment of the necessary political, economic, and ideological conditions for harmonizing interethnic relations, guaranteeing the rights of ethnic minorities residing on the territory of the republic, and forming a high level of interethnic contact. These organs will speed up their preparation of specific proposals on resolving the problem of the Crimean Tatars.

They will intensify their efforts in clarifying the contemporary nationalities policy of the party and the fundamental provisions of the CPSU platform. They will use reasoned argument in propagandizing the values of socialism and consistently expose such phenomena as separatism, nationalism, and chauvinism. They will strengthen the personal responsibility of leaders, the ideological aktiv, and all communists for implementation of the principles of Leninist nationalities policy in their everyday activity.

3. The plenum regards as a matter of tremendous importance participation by the republic in the perfection and fundamental renovation of the Soviet federation, proceeding from the formula: "Without a strong Union there are no strong republics; without strong republics there is no strong Union." It is the federation which affords broad opportunities for solving all problems of development of the Ukrainian nation, the flourishing of languages and cultures of all ethnic groups inhabiting the Ukraine, and the provision of full meaning to the concept of the republic's sovereignty.

The plenum considers it advisable that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR summarize and introduce for review by the UkSSR Supreme Soviet proposals on the formation and operation in the republic of national administrative-territorial units in locations where ethnic minorities live in compact configuration, and on the organization of structural subunits and commissions of organs of Soviet authority which should be involved on a permanent basis with issues of interethnic relations.

The plenum supports proposals on drawing up a new draft Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR as the legal basis for accomplishing political and economic reforms, for implementing the provisions of the CPSU platform "Nationalities Policy of the Party Under Today's Conditions" as it applies in our republic.

An important stage in the further accomplishment of perestroyka and a true test of the readiness of party organizations to work under the new conditions will be seen in the elections of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies and people's deputies of local soviets. Success in the elections will depend primarily on the degree of worthiness, true popularity among the people, and devotion to duty exhibited by candidates nominated for these posts, as well as on the degree of intensity and purposefulness the party organizations and labor collectives exert in supporting them, taking into account all the factors of the pre-election campaign. The entire election campaign should be conducted openly and aggressively using reasoned argument. It should entail close interaction with all social forces operating in the interests of perestroyka and be directed against extremists and ethnic careerists, those who use perestroyka slogans to achieve antiperestroyka aims.

The Politburo of the Central Committee will be directed to develop the pre-election platform of the Ukrainian Communist Party, discuss it within party organizations, and present it for review by the next plenum.

4. The plenum stresses that the economic situation of the republic remains complex and unstable, that perestroyka is proceeding with difficulty and still has not yielded tangible results, including in the social sphere. Tension is not abating in the consumer market, the gulf is widening between supply and demand, inflation is growing. The situation regarding housing program implementation is becoming more adverse. Attention devoted to accelerating scientific and technological progress has grown weaker. The ecological environment in many regions is getting worse.

The chief reason for this situation is the fact that radical economic reforms and progressive forms of organizing and stimulating labor are being introduced without the necessary initiative and purposefulness. Relapses into the administrative-command system are being felt, as are serious miscalculations in planning and managing the national economy, in selecting cadre. A number of economic leaders lack the necessary competence. They are incapable of effective organization.

The economic and social situation in the republic has worsened noticeably with respect to decreasing people's labor activity. There has been a significant weakening of discipline, manifestations of group egoism, strikes by miners and transportation workers, a destabilization of the political situation in many regions of the country.

The problems involved in reinvigorating the economy and finances, in satisfying the sociocultural needs of the population—primarily in housing, consumer goods, foodstuffs, and services—have acquired an extraordinary political significance and must become the principal focus of activity of party organizations, all communists, soviet and economic organs, and labor collectives. The plenum attaches fundamental importance to consolidating discipline and bringing order to the economy, especially in transportation, construction, and the sphere of trade and services, and charges communists—the leadership of the republic government—to take decisive measures to reinforce their directorship of appropriate sectors where necessary.

The Politburo, Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, oblast, city, and rayon party committees will be given a principled evaluations of the activity of CPSU members who have serious disruptions and errors in their work.

The plenum considers it necessary for the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers and the Commission of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party on Matters of Socioeconomic Development, along with leaders of ministries and departments and leading economic scholars in the republic, to finalize the necessary documents and take measures to accelerate the republic's transition to principles of regional economic accountability and self-financing. In this regard, they should proceed from the fact that expansion of the republic's economic sovereignty, increased economic independence of its regions, and the reinforced influence of local soviets must combine harmoniously with the needs of effective development of the USSR economy as an integral entity and enhancement of the role played by the Ukrainian SSR in the all-union division of labor. They will take additional measures directed toward stabilizing the economic situation in the republic and increasing the personal responsibility of workers for the job with which they are entrusted. Every occurrence of poor management must become the subject of exacting appraisal. Leaders who are not functioning at full capacity, who exhibit sluggishness, must be decisively removed from their positions—this undermines people's confidence in management organs.

5. Laying special emphasis on the need for further democratization of social life in the republic, for actively involving in this effort the participation of all social organizations, independent formations, and movements which espouse the principles of perestroyka, socialism, and friendship among the peoples of the USSR, the plenum advocates the expansion of constructive dialogue between these and party organizations, cooperation in accomplishing the specific tasks of economic, social, and spiritual development of the Ukrainian SSR, and in resolving its ecological problems.

At the same time, the plenum declares that party committees of the republic will wage an uncompromising struggle against manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, and extremism, against those who do not accept the socialist option, who strive to discredit the party, propagate separatism and national isolation, and who work to destabilize the sociopolitical environment. Party organizations, communists of the Ukraine, and the organs of Soviet authority should apply all means of influence, force of conviction, and law to confront manifestations of ethnic narrow-mindedness and self-adoration. They must resolutely repulse attempts to direct healthy ethnic feelings into nationalistic current, to discredit our internationalist gains, to use democratization to achieve antidemocratic, antisocialist aims. The necessity has become imperative to use the weighty language of the law to prescribe conditions under which nationalist, chauvinist, and other extremist organizations can and should be dissolved. Appropriate proposals on these matters should be prepared by the law enforcement organs of the republic.

Party committees of the republic must consider as a subject meriting special attention the fundamental restructuring of political work with trade union and Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] organizations, enhancement of their role and activity in the republic-wide process of renewing all spheres of life, overcoming the phenomena of stagnation in their activity.

6. Exacerbation of the political environment and of the problems of interethnic relations in the republic is directly related to an inadequate level of restructuring in the ideological work of party organizations. Formalism and stock phrases, discrepancies with real life and people's spiritual needs—these are slow to be overcome. The party cadre and ideological aktiv seem simply unable to abandon outmoded stereotypes and their obsolete notions of ways to democratize community life. Placidity, an inability to thoroughly analyze the actual political situation, and moods of confusion when confronted by incidents of extremism, nationalistic and chauvinistic phenomena significantly reduce the effectiveness of their political influence on the masses.

The Central Committee Plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party demands that the Politburo of the Central Committee, party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms take urgent measures to enhance the scientific-theoretical level of party propaganda, to involve in political work the most well-trained and ideologically staunch communists, the entire intellectual potential of the Ukrainian party organization.

Today, purposeful ideological work and the consolidation of public opinion behind one's point of view are unthinkable without well-prepared centers for public opinion research. The plenum considers it advisable to establish such centers directly at the party committee level. Establishment of the Institute of Sociology of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences and Center for the Study of Interethnic Relations will be accelerated to improve the methodology framework for sociological research and scientific interpretation of social processes.

Today's environment demands that all party cadre, all communists participate personally in political work, thoroughly realize their responsibility for the outcome of perestroyka, the defense of socialist values and ideals, and the intensified internationalist education of the working class, especially of our young people. The Secretariat of the Central Committee and party committees are obliged to organize the comprehensive ideological training of cadre, imbue in them the qualities of a political fighter, the ability to spontaneously evaluate a situation and react flexibly as it changes, assist them in rapidly mastering the methods of conducting active political debate and discussion of issues.

Communists in leadership positions; party organizations of the institutes of the Social Sciences Section of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; the Institute of Party History of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, the branch of the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CPSU Central Committee, Kiev and Odessa Party Schools, and creative unions; and social scientists working at institutes of higher education of the republic will intensify their scientific research on the problems of history and culture of the Ukraine, on the processes of formation and development of the Ukrainian nation, and on the level of interethnic contact and communication. Deepening their comprehension of perestroyka and society's historical past, they will intensify development of a modern concept of socialism, formulate a new thinking, and defend our socialist values and the path of October.

The plenum appeals to the scientific-technological and artistic intelligentsia of the republic to determine more precisely their place and role in implementing the decisions of the September (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, in effecting the humanization of social relations, in improving moral and ethical education, to become actively involved in realization of the program to develop the Ukrainian national culture and the culture of other ethnic groups residing in the Ukraine, to propagate these values, and to widen the sphere of application of the Ukrainian language, and the languages of the Russian and other peoples.

7. Party committees and directors of the mass information media will ensure more effective use of the opportunities afforded by the press, radio and television so as to consolidate all social forces, social organizations, and spontaneous formations, to unite the people on the principles of socialist renovation, mobilize all workers towards constructive accomplishment of the tasks of perestroyka, and imbue in them feelings of Soviet patriotism, national dignity, and internationalist consciousness. They will accurately and consistently implement CPSU doctrine regarding the realization of current nationalities policy.

Party leadership of the press will be developed and improved. While resolutely repudiating administrative-command methods, special attention will be devoted to ensuring glasnost, openness, truthfulness, democratic discussion of all issues disturbing the working class, and a businesslike reaction to criticism. The plenum stresses the need to increase the responsibility of management personnel of the press, television and radio, and of all journalists, for objectivity in their publications and broadcasts, an orientation towards accomplishing the specific tasks of perestroyka and implementing party policy. They must struggle against manifestations of bias and attempts to use the press to promote narrow group ambitions, to ignite unhealthy passions and pursue shady sensationalism.

Measures must be taken on an urgent basis to strengthen the material-technical facilities of journalism in the republic.

The plenum appeals to communists and all the working people of the Soviet Ukraine in this difficult and exceedingly critical time to rally around the party in the name of perestroyka and renovation of our socialist society, to enhance organization and discipline, exercise political vigilance, deliver a decisive rebuff to extremism, antisocialist and nationalist phenomena, to mobilize all forces, all of the creative potential of our talented and industrious people to accomplish the tasks of socioeconomic and spiritual development of the Soviet Ukraine within the family of fraternal peoples of the USSR.

NKAO Blockade Reportedly Not Fully Lifted

LD0712155989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1359 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Stepanakert, 7 Dec (TASS)—On a frosty December day tens of thousands of residents of the oblast center of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] have come to the memorial complex to lay wreaths and flowers at the monument to the victims of the earthquake in Armenia. In the mourning procession are members of the commandant's office of the special district, workers, intelligentsia, rural workers, students, and schoolchildren.

The situation in NKAO and around it currently remains unstable: shots and explosions are still heard and there are not infrequent cases of settlements being fired on, of seizure of hostages, and attacks on military details. The blockade of the oblast has not been fully lifted either. Although the railway has been open for the 2d day running, food and fuel are not getting through, and most of the roads in Nagorno-Karabakh itself and around it are closed to traffic.

The NKAO special administrative committee and the contingent of internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs so far remain the only guarantee of the safety of the residents of the region.

Azerbaijan Committee for NKAO Established

LD0712152989 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Baku December 7 TASS—Local newspapers today published the decree of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan on the formation of a republican organisational committee for Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic.

The committee is set up in accordance with the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet "on measures to normalise the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region."

Vezirov Meets Committee Members

NC0712192589 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, met with the members of the Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO] organization committee today. An exchange of views was held during the meeting on the forms and methods of the work of the organization committee. The republic's ministries and main administrations were given instructions on the question of strengthening relations with pertinent establishments and organizations in the NKAO.

The first task is to stabilize quickly the social and political situation in the NKAO. This will help start the peace process.

It was noted that many work collectives and individual citizens have made concrete proposals to the republic's leading organs offering to participate in normalizing the situation in the NKAO. These proposals will be considered by the Nagorno-Karabakh organization committee.

Azerbaijan Denies Towns Taken Over by Armenians

NC0712191489 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Statement issued by the Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs]

[Text] Rumors and fabrications have been spread recently in Baku city and other rayons in the republic to the effect that towns in Kutatly Rayon were supposedly taken over by Armenian individuals. Furthermore, it has been alleged that the law enforcement units deployed there are not helping the people.

In this connection, the Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs wishes to make it known that Azerbaijani towns in Kubatly Rayon and in other rayons of the republic have not been taken over and that such rumors are completely unfounded.

The situation in the rayons along the Armenian border is controlled by the Azerbaijani internal affairs organs and units of the internal forces of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. The extremists are trying to create fear among the people in these rayons and disrupt the people's peaceful work and tranquillity.

Any action aimed at disrupting stability will be speedily dealt with. Additional forces will be sent to these rayons if necessary. Meanwhile, information will be given about any change in the situation.

Soldiers Desert, Expect Armenia-Azeri Civil War

PM0812120789 Copenhagen DET FRI AKTUELT in Danish 7 Dec 89 p 2

[Editorial: "Death of an Alliance"]

[Excerpt] Several hundred Soviet soldiers deserted Monday [4 December] when they were about to be flown from the republic of Azerbaijan to Poland. According to the [Copenhagen-published] newspaper INFORMATION, the soldiers did not want to leave Azerbaijan "at a time when there is a growing danger of war between us and Armenia."

Armenian Decision on U.S. Senate Resolution

NC0712140389 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 4 Dec 89

["The resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and the National Council of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] concerning the statement issued by the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry on the draft resolution of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relation Committee pertaining to the NKAO"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR and the National Council of the NKAO register their disagreement and resolute protest at the 19 November 1989 statement of the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry concerning the resolution of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the NKAO. That statement aims at misleading the international public opinion.

The people of the Armenian SSR and NKAO consider the draft resolution of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee and its eventual ratification by the Senate as a manifestation of the concern of the American people toward the prolonged political crisis in the region and as a defense of and understanding toward the just demand of the NKAO population for self-determination.

The Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR and the National Council of the NKAO express their regret that in these days of restructuring and new thinking, the defense of the idea of national self-determination—an idea which corresponds to all the international conventions and obligations assumed by the USSR—is considered by the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry as a "provocative act" and an interference in the internal affairs of the country. They regard the statement of the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry as an act which in no way reflects the views and the legitimate interests of the Armenian people; this statement has been made without taking into consideration the opinion of the people of the NKAO and Armenian SSR.

The Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR and the National Council of the NKAO demand that the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry refrain from making any statement concerning the interests of the Armenian people or in the name of the Armenian people without prior consultations with the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Armenian SSR.

The Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR and the National Council of the NKAO consider it pertinent to convey their views to the second congress of the USSR people's deputies and to the USSR foreign affairs ministry.

[Signed] G. Voskanyan, chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR;
[Signed] N. Stepanyan, secretary of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR;

[Signed] V. Grigoryan, chairman of the National Council of NKAO.
Yerevan City
1 December 1989.

Margaret Thatcher To Visit Armenia in June

NC0812090789 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Cable sent by Margaret Thatcher—radio headline]

[Text] Today, just as a year ago, I am with the Armenian people in my thoughts, writes Margaret Thatcher, the prime minister of Great Britain, in her cable sent to Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet presidium. The whole world admires the determination and resolution with which your people are restoring and rebuilding the devastated cities and villages. The British people admire your heroic efforts.

I hope to see in person some of those things which are being accomplished in Armenia. I would like to visit your republic in June to inaugurate the school in Leninakan being built jointly by our government and your people. The courage displayed by the Armenian people in their times of trial is an example to us all. Please accept my best wishes on the anniversary of this tragic event, concludes Margaret Thatcher.

Tajik Communist Party Plenum Opens 6 Dec

LD0712023689 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 2321 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Excerpts] The 15th Regular Plenum of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee opened in Dushanbe today. The plenum discussed the following issues:

1. Practical measures for implementing in the republic the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee September 1989 Plenum on the matter of the party's nationalities policy in present conditions.

2. The convening of the 21st Regular Congress of the Communist Party of Tajikistan.

3. The progress of implementation of the resolution of the 11th Plenum of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee on measures to (?ensure) political organisation of implementing the republican program for housing construction, 'Housing 93'.

4. Organizational issues:

Kakhar Makhkamovich Makhkamov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Tajikistan presented a report on the first issue. [passage omitted]

A resolution was adopted on the subject.

On the second issue, the plenum heard a report by Makhkamov and adopted a relevant resolution. In accordance with this resolution, the 21st Regular Congress of the Communist Party of Tajikistan will be convened in September 1990. [passage omitted]

The Central Committee plenum discussed organizational issues.

The plenum relieved Luchinskiy from the posts of Bureau member and second secretary of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee in view of his appointment as first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum elected (Vetokov) as the second secretary of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee in a secret ballot.

Shabdolov, previously deputy head of the Organizational Party Work and Cadres Department of the Communist Party of Takikistan Central Committee, was elected secretary of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee in a secret ballot.

Karakulov was relieved from the post of head of the Agrarian Department of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee in view of his appointment to another post.

(Asrakhov), who previously worked in the CPSU Central Committee apparat, was confirmed as head of the Agrarian Department of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee.

Dzhurabayev, previously head of the mass media sector of the Ideological Department of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee, was confirmed as editor of the newspaper SOVET TAJIKISTANI.

The plenum relieved Sukhov from the post of bureau member and head of the Organizational Party Work and Cadres Department of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee in view of his appointment to the aparrat of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum was concluded with this.

Makhkamov Rejects Federalism

LD0612205589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Today's plenum of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee examined measures for implementing the decisions of the September plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in the field of interethnic relations. The speaker was Makhkamov, first secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee. He spoke of the need to raise the autonomy of the republican party organization, stating at the same time that the Communist Party of Tajikistan was and will be a component part of the CPSU, thus rejecting the idea of federalism in its structure.

Measures were examined for implementing the Housing-89 program. Certain organizational questions were decided. In connection with his being elected first secretary of the Moldavián Communist Party Central Committee, Comrade Luchinskiy was released from the duties of second secretary of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee. Comrade Veselkov, who worked as secretary of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee, was elected in his place.

It has been decided to convene the Congress of the republic's Communist Party in September of next year.

New Anticrime Measures in Turkmenia Discussed

LD0812055189 Moscow TASS in English 1231 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Ashkhabad December 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yelena Prikhodko:

Soviet Turkmenia's interior agencies are now focusing their activities on preventing offences and revealing the causes and conditions conductive to crimes," [single quotation mark as received] Turkmenia's Interior Minister Vasily Grinin told TASS.

"A crime prevention department has been formed at the ministry for the purpose, he said. Criminals have become younger in the republic. In the minister's opinion, this is caused by the demographic peculiarity of the region—over half of Turkmenia's population are under the age of 16, and the insufficiently developed social infrastructure, the flaws in education and leisure-time organisation, and drug addiction. [no closing quotation mark as received]

Turkmenia has extra labour resources and in a number of districts and villages people cannot find jobs for years.

"To uproot these negative phenomena, Interior Ministry agencies in their work should closely cooperate with local government, party and economic organs. A state target-oriented anti-crime programme is needed," the minister said.

"Emphasis is now being put on improving individual anti-crime work with teenagers. Legislation is being more strictly observed. An article on criminal responsibility for drawing teenagers into hard drinking, drug addiction, prostitution and gambling was previously neglected in Turkmenia. A number of recent trials, lawyers believe, are bound to play their educational role."

Former Uzbek Party Official Withdraws Confession

LD0612175789 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—The open trial of Kallibek Kamalov, former first secretary of the Karakalpak regional committee of Uzbekistan's Communist Party, is continuing at the USSR Supreme Court.

Kamalov is accused of accepting 105,850 roubles in twenty bribes and handing bribes worth 17,500 roubles to his superiors in payment for their patronage.

During preliminary investigation Kamalov admitted having accepted bribes on all counts of the indictment and gave detailed testimony.

Today, however, Kamalov pleaded not guilty. He explained that during the preliminary investigation he changed his evidence concerning his bribe-taking, informing prosecutor-general Alexander Sukharev by sending to him a corresponding statement.

Kamalov wrote that he had committed no crime whatsoever. At the request of the defendant, the court ordered the statement from the USSR Prosecutor's Office.

During the hearings, Kamalov explained that he changed his testimony because he had earlier slandered himself and others under pressure from investigators.

After completing the questioning of the defendant, the court continued the study of evidence.

CPSU Department Holds Meeting in Moscow Rayon

PM0712165389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[Unnamed TASS correspondent report: "Useful Dialogue"]

[Text] A meeting between workers of the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department and the party aktiv of Moscow's Sokolnicheskiy Rayon was held at the V.I. Lenin Central Museum, Moscow, on the department's initiative. A short speech was delivered by department chief A.S. Kapto. A thorough exchange of opinions on a wide range of questions concerning CPSU domestic and foreign policy and the state of affairs within the party took place during discussion.

In conversation with your TASS correspondent A.S. Kapto noted that such meetings are very useful as they provide "real feedback and enormous material for further work."

Such meetings will be held constantly, and not just in Moscow but in other regions, too. The CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department plans to hold a meeting with the party aktiv in Mytishchi before the year is out.

Yeltsin Interviewed on Interregional Group

PM0712135189 Copenhagen DET FRI AKTUELT in Danish 2-3 Dec 89 pp 4-5

[Report on interview with USSR People's Deputy Boris Yeltsin by Per Dalgaard: "Persecuted by Gorbachev"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] More and more East European countries are to have free elections. But in the Soviet Union it is still very difficult to be the opposition, Moscow's most popular politician, Boris Yeltsin, said. In an exclusive interview Yeltsin gives Gorbachev only 1 more year to get his policy of perestroyka to work. Otherwise he predicts a revolution from below.

There is a feeling of tense uncertainty in Moscow at present.

Brezhnev's repressive, but stable and predictable iron hand during the period of stagnation has been replaced by an uncertain reform process which often seems to be moving blindly.

No one knows where it is leading.

There are many rumors circulating of planned coups against Gorbachev from both right and left and of sabotage of dwindling food supplies, and there is talk that the Baltic countries will break away fairly soon.

The official press does nothing to reduce the uncertainty with its attacks on the opposition, the members of the Interregional Group. One of the most prominent, historian Yuriy Afanasyev, is accused of being a fellow traveler who was Brezhnev's pet, and Boris Yeltsin is accused of "behaving badly" during his visit to the United States.

But Boris Yeltsin is not afraid to respond and without any ado named the man behind the campaign against them:

"Gorbachev has seen the beginnings of a new party in our Interregional Group and is frightened. He has therefore decided to put a stop to it.

"He has done so first and foremost by refusing point-blank to allow us to publish a newspaper. The group members' speeches in the Supreme Soviet are stifled in every possible way. We are *not* trying to create an alternative to the Supreme Soviet. We are *not* trying to form a new party. Of course, these attacks on individual members are planned. The government sees a danger in the Interregional Group and has decided to combat it and discredit it in every possible way. We are convinced that this is no accident, but we are continuing our work undaunted."

There is no way of ignoring Yeltsin. Neither for the government nor for his colleagues in the Interregional Group. His position of power is based first and foremost on the impressive election victory which brought him into the People's Congress in triumph.

He has millions of Muscovites behind him. This also gives strength to the Interregional Group, in which there is otherwise little enthusiasm for Yeltsin's bombastic populist style and simple solutions, which can be reminiscent of a combination of Glistrup and Preben Moller Hansen [extreme right- and left-wing Danish political figures].

There is a great gulf between the deadly serious academic style of a Sakharov or an Afanasyev and this party worker from the provinces, who must impress the big-city intellectuals as something of loudmouthed boor.

When meeting Yeltsin one cannot help thinking of Stalin's famous statement about high-ranking, slightly overofficious party functionaries who become "dizzy with their own success."

But outwardly the group stands united. And its activities are controlled in part from here, Boris Yeltsin's office in the government building next to the Hotel Moskva. Here Yeltsin has a home as the head of the Commission for Construction and Architecture Questions—a post to which he was demoted from that of Moscow party chief.

Together with Yuriy Afanasyev's office at the Moscow State Historical Archives Institute and Andrey Sakharov's modest apartment, this office is the nerve center of the Interregional Group's activities. But what are the group's real objectives?

[Yeltsin] The Interregional Group was formed after the First Congress of People's Deputies because the so-called Moscow group had not succeeded in achieving a breakthrough for its ideas in the assembly. They were simply swamped by the mass of people's deputies. Perhaps because the group was from Moscow. People here in the Soviet Union have a fairly special attitude to Moscow and the Muscovites. On the one hand they accuse the Muscovites of being snobs and are bitter that conditions here are better. On the other hand everybody tries to come here. But in short: These ideas could make little headway at the People's Congress, so we decided to assemble the most progressive and radical deputies from all the regions in this group. And this is entirely legal!

We have held several meetings and have a very democratic leadership. We actually have no real leader, but five equal secretaries. Even though we take different views of this or that, we have a common basic approach in principle. Our goals are, first, a more radical perestroyka, more rapid restructuring, for we have actually come to a standstill. Second, we aim to put forward alternative proposed legislation—for example, we are not satisfied with the vague proposals on property rights, so we are drafting our own proposal.

[Dalgaard] But does this produce results?

[Yeltsin] So far we have not achieved any significant results. Why? Because the leadership, Gorbachev first and foremost, does not want to recognize the Interregional Group at all. But if it was recognized as an official opposition representing the minority, as in every real parliament in the world, an opposition which puts forward proposals for legislation or amendments—the Supreme Soviet would only gain. It is better to have two proposals to choose from, rather than just one.

[Dalgaard] The atmosphere in Moscow is both tense and depressed. People are on the verge of losing faith in perestroyka. Will perestroyka survive this dissatisfaction and regain people's confidence?

[Yeltsin] First: I agree with your assessment—people have begun to lose faith in perestroyka and the leadership. And this is logical enough, now that 4 ½ years have passed—that corresponds to a presidential term—yet perestroyka has still not resulted in improvements in living standards.

[Dalgaard] Quite the reverse!

[Yeltsin] Yes. You are right: Quite the reverse. And so people naturally begin to consider why. This perestroyka is very good, because it has meant progress in the form of democratization, glasnost, and so on, but there has to be bread to go with it.

People judge perestroyka by what there is on the shelves, by the foodstuffs and other products, and by the quantity of services. And there has been no progress in these areas, indeed, there has actually been a deterioration, at the same time as we are experiencing one crisis after another. There is a crisis in the economy, in the nationalities question, in social policy, a crisis in the party and society—so people become dissatisfied.

I have said in the past, in the United States, for example, that in my view people will not give this revolution from above more than a year. Others say that they will not give it more than 3-4 months at the most. And that could be correct. It depends on what measures are adopted now with regard to the radicalization of the process toward perestroyka.

We have clearly made a very serious political mistake, and this is primarily Gorbachev's fault, by still not having adopted proper laws on ownership rights. This is the basis for everything else. Without this law we cannot make progress with the economic reforms—the transition to a socialist market economy, a mixed economy, or whatever we are to call it.

There is no law on land; that is why we cannot give the land back to the farmers. There are no laws on enterprises, no tax legislation. Thus we have none of the package of economic laws which could give society a shot in the arm. But it is being delayed the whole time. If we had adopted these laws 4 years ago, we would have made much progress by now, but we did not, and that was a major mistake.

[Dalgaard] You have visited the United States and other Western countries. What inspiration can the Soviet Union find in the capitalist social model, including the Scandinavian model?

[Yeltsin] The socialism that we claim to have built (in reality we have not built any socialism at all)—what the scientists call state monopoly socialism—has nothing to do with socialism. And now we have to pluck up courage and renounce certain dogmas dating back to 1917. We must try to create a new and attractive model of socialism which takes account of the positive lessons—which we also have learned—the lessons of the socialist countries, the lessons of the Western democracies, including the Scandinavian model.

I have been to the West and have become convinced that we can use many things from the Western democracies, including the attitude to property, the parliamentary system, and much more. There is no reason to renounce all this because it is capitalist. Why should we do that if it is rational and useful?

[Dalgaard] Can you also learn something from what is happening in Eastern Europe at present, particularly in the light of events in the GDR and the possibility of reunification?

[Yeltsin] All that talk of reunification is really a lot of unrealistic talk. Each country moves in its own direction and each people must decide their own fate, but I do not believe in a merger at present. What has just happened in the GDR is in my view quite logical. The whole thing is an offshoot of democratization in connection with perestroyka here in the Soviet Union. Relations among all the socialist countries have also been democratized. They have thrown off the short leash on which they followed us—or, more correctly, with which we controlled them—and have decided no longer to copy the direction we take. They are choosing their own road, but still on a socialist foundation. They decide for themselves who is to be their leader, what parties there should be, whether there should be one or more.

I am very impressed by the way they replaced Honecker. They replaced the *whole* Politburo at the same time. That was what I advocated at the 19th party congress. We should have done the same. If the general secretary is replaced, then you have to replace the whole Politburo, for if you only replace part of it, a situation arises in which there are internal conflicts the whole time. And a lot of valuable time is lost in the process. If you replace the whole bunch, you get a new bunch who are of like mind, are not divided into two camps, and have nothing to quarrel about. That is what is needed. We must act now. Decisions must be made and implemented.

Leningrad Conference of Informals Assessed

90UN0260A Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 89 p 2

[Article by I. Losev: "What Lies Behind the Word 'Democracy'?"]

[Text] We are living in a surprising and difficult time: Society is starting on the path of building a law-governed democratic state. We are seeing the breakdown of stereotypes that have ruled people's minds for decades, that have been considered the basis of our ideology. This process is not simple and the reactions to it vary: Some people, along with their ideals, are losing faith in "all that is sacred" and some people are trying to raise their own pedestals to replace those that have been torn down, calling them "truly democratic" and "truly popular."

One of the signs of the restructuring that was begun by the Party in April of 1985 is the rapid growth of various kinds of politicized independent associations, and each of them has its own idea of how to build a "bright future."

The recent conference which brought together in Leningrad representatives of these associations from various regions of the country would have been impossible even a couple of years ago, and the fact that it was held is the result of the processes that are now taking place in society. We were in no hurry to publish the impressions of our correspondent concerning the forum of "informal groups." It took time for passions to die down and emotions to settle. It was necessary to figure out calmly the results of the conference and soberly evaluate them. Incidentally, the author himself does not assert that all his conclusions are beyond question. Ultimately, time will show who is right.

"To support the activity of various social organizations and worker movements presenting platforms of restructuring and renewal of socialism as partners in social self-management. Communists working in social organizations and movements must use their authority and influence to draw them into cooperation with the CPSU, implementation of the economic and political reforms, and the formation of soviets of people's deputies, and resolutely to reject extremist and antisocialist elements. They bear party responsibility for implementing the party policy in these social organizations and movements." (From the draft of the Program of Action of the Leningrad Party Organization for Deepening Restructuring under Modern Conditions)

"The conference welcomes and supports the worker and strike movement that has developed in the country and expresses its support for the independent labor unions that are appearing. The conference condemns the creation of antidemocratic pro-apparatus organizations and the strikes incited by them as well as their use in the fight against democratic movements." (From the resolution of the Conference of Democratic Movements and Organizations of the Country on the Political Situation in the Country and the Overall Tasks of the Democratic Movement)

I had a reason for starting with these quotations. They reflect the essence and direction of each of the documents. The program of the Leningrad CPSU organization is directed toward consolidation of all proponents of restructuring, for our power lies in unity, especially at difficult moments of history (and there is no need to speak of how difficult the present day is). This tactic has proved itself more than once. But the goal of the resolution is confrontation and delimitation. "We think," it says there, "that the formation of factions is a necessary condition for normal parliamentary activity."

Remember the fairy tale about the old father who suggests to his sons that they break the broom...During all 3 days I spent in the conference hall I could not shake the thought that what I had seen and heard there reminded me of the situation in that fairy tale: They are trying to break down our unity into "twigs," saying that herein lies our salvation. But I think that together we shall bend but not break, but if we separate....

The Leningrad People's Front was the initiator of the Democratic Forum. Why was it the one from Leningrad and not Moscow or some other place? In order to understand this we must take a small excursion into the recent past.

The idea of creating a people's front in Leningrad originated almost 2 years ago, but real steps toward realizing it became possible only with the beginning of the spring election campaign. The initiators of the idea banded together into the "Organization for the People's Front" (ONF). The means of propaganda was the club founded by the "Organization," Election-89, which actively supported candidates who expressed views close to those of the ONF or who agreed to promote them at meetings with the voters. People who were tired of waiting for the improvements promised by the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee placed their hopes in the "Organization for the People's Front," the Election-89 Club, and their candidate people's deputies. The appeal for creating a really popular movement capable of waging war against the remnants of stagnation and dogmatism and starting on the path of restructuring naturally found support among some Leningraders.

And the sharp criticism during the course of the election campaign of state social programs and the unsuccessful attempts at economic reform brought even more supporters to the People's Front. It must be admitted that it was not just the timely and just nature of the club's reproaches against state policy and the Leningrad authorities that contributed to this, but also the quickness and frequently also the unintelligent reaction of party and soviet organizations. You know the result: A number of city and oblast leaders were not among the people's deputies.

The prolonged procedure for the elections with repeated nominations of candidates and repeated voting made known the names of many Leningraders whom nobody or almost nobody knew before then. Among them was the leader of the Spaseniye Group—the first "informals" of Leningrad—archaeologist A. Kovalev, NTTM [scientific and technical creativity of youth] Center Director V. Neplokh, scientific associate M. Salye...Not a single mandate and 34 people running (3 Muscovites and the rest were Leningraders). In spite of the active support of its candidates from the ONF and the informal organizations that support it and in spite of the active promotion of the ideas of deputies of the People's Front by Deputies S. Andreyev and M. Salye, the results of the election were stupefying: 61% of the voters voted for the Muscovite Ivanov. Obviously, at that time the people placed no more hope in the "punishing sword of justice," in the fight against those who opposed restructuring, than they did in the freedom promised by the "democratic deputies."

And so the candidates supported by the "Organization for the People's Front" lost in the pre-election battle, but they acquired a certain amount of political capital and in June, at the constituent congress of the Leningrad People's Front (LNF) both Andreyev and Salye were elected to its coordination council.

The situation developed somewhat differently in the capital and some of the "democratically inclined candidates" from the members of the "Moscow Tribune"—a kind of club of intellectuals—received deputy mandates. Among them were Yu. Afanasyev and G. Popov. Many probably recall their speech at the Congress of People's Deputies. The ideas of the rector of the Historical Archive Institute and the economist did not receive widespread support. And of the 400 deputies who responded to the proposal to join together into an interregional deputy group (MDG) far from all of them fully share the views of the founders. It would seem that many are frightened by the schism, the opposition of the Interregional Group to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Members of the MDG are trying in all ways to gain support among the masses so as to influence the deputies through them. On the threshold of the fall session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, there arose the idea of an all-union "democratic" conference. The proximity of the LNF to the "Moscow Tribune" determined the place where this forum would be held—Leningrad.

The organizers of the conference tried hard—they sent invitations to all the union republics and many cities of the Russian Federation and they notified the mass media. True, at the last moment everything threatened to fall apart: The city authorities refused to grant a hall for the plenary meetings. Less than 24 hours before the conference was to open they named several places where it could be held, including a forest meadow outside the city. (I do not know what considerations kept the powers that be from allotting the necessary premises for holding the all-union forum of "democrats.") One way or another, at 1000 on 16 September 1989 the conference began its work in Malyy Hall in the Palace of Culture of food industry workers. It was attended by 162 delegates who represented 81 informal organizations from 11 republics. There were 127 press workers observing their work, from the central press to samizdat. There were also representatives of the foreign mass media.

And there was something to see: It seems that this was the first time that representatives of the national and, as it were, "general democratic movements" had met together. Each of them brought his own problems to the city on the Neva, considering his own to be the primary ones. The unification of such diverse tendencies evoked quite natural questions. This is how they were answered by the information sheet given to each journalist in the conference press center along with his accreditation card: "The LNF is devoting this conference to two themes: coordination of the actions of the country's democratic movements and the nationality problem. Such a combination may seem strange but actually it is here in our country that there is an extremely strong connection between these two issues."

This is probably true. But at the conference this connection was traced from only one viewpoint, since the main papers—on the political situation in the country, the general tasks of democratic movements, and also problems of the national and territorial structure of the union—were given by members of the Interregional Deputy Group Yu. Afanasyev and G. Starovoytova. And questions of coordination of the activity of democratic movements were treated by M. Salye, who fully shared the views of the "preceding speakers" but was not a deputy.

Even from the fact that the people who arranged the conference did not invite representatives of interfronts, strike committees (the very ones who were later welcomed by the "democratic community" in the resolution), political clubs, and workers of soviet and party organizations (apparently since they did not consider them proponents of democracy) it was clear that the organizing committee was not prepared for any special polemics, intending to allow the "best" to debate with the "good"; that is, like thinkers. This is not the first time such a thing has happened with "democrats": While demanding for themselves the right to have alternatives to the state and the CPSU, they themselves frequently refuse to allow alternative viewpoints to be expressed at their functions.

But how did events develop in the Food Workers' Palace of Culture?

The first main speaker was Yu. Afanasyev. Here are the main ideas in his speech: "The first 2 years of restructuring inspired much hope and optimism in us. The restructuring, which was given the name 'revolution from above,' in time began to offer significant resistance and as the movement gathered force from below, the irregular pace of the revolution became more and more appreciable.... In the country we now have not a political crisis but a political vacuum.... The Politburo and M.S. Gorbachev were not able to hear the national voices in the USSR and are perceiving them as almost hostile. Both in the declaration of the CPSU Central Committee concerning the situation in the Baltic republics and in the draft of the CPSU platform on the national question one can clearly perceive imperialist notes..."

There was more, as they say, the further he went. When evaluating the activity of the CPSU, the speaker did not shy away from formulated expressions: "One must say that the party has no authority at this time," he declared. "And it does not have it because the fact that our country has gone nowhere during the past 70 years under the leadership of the CPSU has quite predictably led to this result. The question of authority in the USSR can be resolved only by separating the party from the state and the state from the economy. The CPSU can acquire authority under the new conditions by setting forth a program which will be supported by the majority and by shutting down such publications as PRAVDA, which lies about the entire Soviet Union without adding to the party's authority...."

There was also space in the report for the Interregional Deputy Group. "The attitude of the Supreme Soviet and the Politburo toward the MDG cannot be called anything but negative," Yu. Afanasyev complained. "Our group's task is to make the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet more effective, and I see one of the most important conditions for this as being a close connection between the MDG and the popular democratic movements. Then we shall be able to become a real force."

Here is another confirmation of the reason for convening the conference, which is right out of the horse's mouth.

Appeals for "unification of democratic movements" were heard more than once during the 3 days of the conference. But it seems to me that the result of this "unification" will be a schism and a division of society into "restructuring people" and "antirestructuring people," "Stalinists" and "democrats." And these in turn will be divided into "right" and "left," "extremists," "radicals," "moderates," "nationalists," "internationalists," and God only knows what else.... Incidentally, the conference demonstrated this quite convincingly and not only by the fact that they pasted labels on all who expressed convictions different from the "democratic" ones. The differences came to the surface even in the first hours of work and they became most pointed when ethnic problems were being discussed.

But the leitmotif of the entire discussion was the flagellation of the CPSU and the Soviet authorities. Here the positions of the majority of delegates coincided. It was as though all of them had forgotten that it was the party that started the restructuring, and ultimately the very possibility of conducting this conference appeared because of the course taken by the CPSU. And when the representative of the Krasnoyarsk Committee for Contributing to Restructuring, V. Mosanskiy, asked the hall: What would happen if Gorbachev and the CPSU were removed from power? Who would take his place?—the response was booing and noise in the hall. And indeed who would? For in big-time politics, as in any other matter, no small role is played by the personality of the leader. There is no question about M.S. Gorbachev's authority in our country and abroad. It is not without reason that the international community has declared him "Man of the Year for 1988." In my opinion, it is simply wrong not to take this into account. And it seems understandable why, when calling for the ouster of the CPSU from power, the "democrats" will not name (at least not publicly) their own candidate for the post of leader of the country. After all, this is responsibility and it would seem that the zealots for democracy do not want to take it on, since they are pursuing something else. For example, outright accusations.

The delegates approved of the speech by V. Fedotov from the Ivanovo Club, entitled "Competence Against Anonymity;" he asserted that Ye. Ligachev "participated" in the Fergana pogroms. The representative of the "Russian section" of the Estonian People's Front, A. Danilson, asserted that there are no interethnic problems in the Baltic and that they are being artificially created by "those who need them." The honored art activist and chairman of the organizing committee of the "Belorussian (it turns out that there is such a thing) Democratic Party," V. Afanasyev, called for "the elimination by peaceful democratic means of the CPSU's monopoly on power" and "the boldest possible changeover to humanistic forms of capitalism."

Hearing the speakers' "theoretical flights of fancy" I sometimes found myself thinking that I was watching a performance in the theater of the absurd. Each one replaced the preceding one and with equal "discoveries."

A member of the LNF coordination council, P. Filippov, called the actions of the Reagan Administration, which "helped restructure private firms into 'national' ones through the sale of stock to workers of the enterprises" truly socialistic! The former U.S. president would really be surprised if he learned of this assessment of his activity. I would warn against calling this kind of activity socialist.... But P. Filippov even found a parallel here in Leningrad. "Look," he said, "at the successes achieved by a member of the Perestroyka Club, the director of the Leningrad Metalofurnitura plant, Bokov, who simply leased out two-thirds of his enterprise to cooperatives. In addition to the immense growth of the production volumes," the speaker asserted, "there was an increase in the political activity of the workers. The plant collective told their director that they would declare a strike at the first attempt to remove him."

The guests at the conference excitedly nodded their heads, but I recalled the article my colleague A. Ozhegov published in September entitled, "A Lot of Money Out of Nothing" in LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, which reported on the "perestroyka" at Metallofurnitura where they "make" money any way they can. Let us say that we can also understand the collective's position: They do not want to lose the "cooperative incomes," which amount to thousands and tens of thousands (depending on the "importance" of the person) of rubles. But what about the "immense increase" in the plant's output? It has been a long time since I have seen any of it on the counters of our stores.

There were also speeches of another kind. The delegate from Grodno, V. Yakovlev, spoke about the fact that he knows of many examples in which every Tom, Dick, and Harry is getting on the perestroyka bandwagon—from right-wing extremists to fools. He suggested purging the democratic movement of this ballast; and he suggested that the national movements not restrict themselves to cultural and linguistic problems, but solve them in parallel with political and economic ones.

Listening to the various kinds of speeches of the delegates I frequently found myself thinking that the words we are used to hearing like "perestroyka," "communist party," "capitalism," "democracy" were invested with various meanings by various speakers. And the word "socialism" was perhaps heard most frequently at the conference. In my opinion, delegates from the Urals and Siberia invested this term with a different semantic content than that of the people from Leningrad or Moscow. This same P. Filippov, for example, means by socialism a "barrack-like form which was very aptly called neofeudal." In his words, the majority of society is not able to define what socialism is but has a good feeling about this word and understands it to mean a happy future. And here is the LNF position regarding this. It was announced on [date illegible] July 1989 in the informal bulletin of the Latvian People's Front, ATMODA. "Members of the Leningrad People's Front," it says there, "take into account the fact that many Leningraders consider the term 'socialism' to be compromising and therefore do not insist that all democrats participating in the LNF necessarily limit themselves to this ideological framework with respect to this question." P. Filippov would probably like to have his speech achieve the goal of having all the rest of the delegates to the conference "take this into account."

What does it mean "not to insist"? To deny? In science, for example, representatives of various trends before discussing a problem agree among themselves on the meaning of the terms used in the polemic. Otherwise the discussion can meet an impasse. Ultimately it is impossible to allow everyone to understand democracy as he wishes, for this is a quite definite and clear-cut concept.

As was mentioned at the beginning of these notes, the greatest disagreements arose in the discussion of interethnic problems. G. Starovoytova tried to set the tone for the discussion with her report. Here are its main points.

"The result of the USSR ethnic policy over the past 72 years has been genocide.... It is necessary to revise the union structure, since it does not meet the demands of life: 1 million Estonians have a union republic, 7 million Tatars have an autonomous republic, and 1 million Crimean Tatars and 2 million Soviet Germans have nothing at all.... The position of the Russian people in the Russian Federation is paradoxical: The largest ethnic group and the largest republic do not have the organs that exist in all the other republics—a Communist Party, an academy of sciences, or a capital, since Moscow is the capital of the federation." She said: "Russia should solve its problems not only for its own development, but also for the sake of the freedom of other ethnic groups, since an ethnic group that oppresses others cannot be free itself."

Yes, problems of the ethnic and territorial determination of the peoples of the USSR must be solved. Yes, in the ethnic policy, especially during the years of Stalinism, there were not only mistakes but also crimes. And, in my view, it is correct to say that the Russian people have the right to have their own republican academies of sciences and arts, communist party, and capital. But there is one thing I cannot understand in the speech of the Moscow woman who was elected as people's deputy from Armenia: Who are these "oppressors" who "oppressed" people to their own detriment? And such accusations against Russians and Russia were heard repeatedly from the stage and from the hall, especially from representatives of ethnic movements—the Baltic people's fronts, the Uzbek Birlik, and the Narodnyy Rukh of the Ukraine....

Various viewpoints were expressed during the discussion of G. Starovoytova's report. And here is something which must be given attention: In the hall one could quite clearly feel the presence of an "aggressive majority" which, with boos, noise, and shouts, frustrated any attempt to express unpopular ideas in this "democratic" environment.

This was the case with delegate A. Babushkin who, in spite of the noise in the hall, presented a program developed by the Commission on Ethnic Problems of the Moscow People's Front, which was not adopted by the conference just as many other proposals were not. Why? Since they had gathered under the flag of democracy to discuss general problems, they should have had the patience to listen to everyone and pick out everything this is rational from the speeches. But it would seem that the organizing committee had its own idea about democracy and what is democratic.

On the other hand, a certain role was played by the circumstance expressed in the words of the representative of the ecology movement Nevada from Alma-Ata, R. Dzhangunzhin. "I did not accept the invitation to this conference without misgivings," he said, "since I have very contradictory ideas about many movements and groups." And this is indeed true. Is much known about the "Leva Society" from Lvov, the Kharkov "Conference of Anarchists," or the Moscow "Committee of New Socialists"? What alien and remote organizations! There is little to be said about our Leningrad organizations; and here, I admit, the press is not doing its job. But those about which it does write give very contradictory information. We must figure out who is who here. This is probably why the delegates to the conference listened more attentively to those who are better known (even if this notoriety were scandalous) and the "unknowns" were not given full attention. At the same time, this lack of information about the affairs of our "comrades-in-arms" (this is how one of the delegates began his speech) made it possible for some of the speakers to twist things around: to accuse party and soviet organs of inflaming interethnic discord, protecting "Pamyat," participating in the tragic events in Sumgait and Fergana, and so forth and so on.

But who made statements like this? Well, for example, the chairman of the Birlik Society, A. Makhmudov. He called the Fergana events "provocation against the Uzbek people" and said that the Meskhetian Turks "had started to demand too zealously (!) the return of their sovereign national rights" (and a democrat says this?!—I.L). He placed the blame for this on "Comrade Nishanov" among others. Makhmudov discussed the firing into a "peaceful demonstration in Kokanda," the "lies" which "poured out from all sources of information," particularly from the pages of OGONEK, a publication he called "slanderous through and through" and "filled with Belorussian chauvinism." What did the popular weekly publish? "Unfortunately, certain 'informal group members' and Birlik...compromise the noble aspirations of their colleagues through extensive contacts with reactionary and criminal elements. They are also working actively among the nationalists." The author of this description, A. Golovkov, in his essay on the Fergana events, *"Eclipse,"* (OGONEK, No 29, p 30) draws a connection between the tragedy and the activity of the Birlik Society.

Members of the Ukrainian Rukh, for example, describe themselves like this: "Those who are in Rukh are the people, all others are the population." I encountered this expression on the pages of the Ukrainian press as well, in PRAVDA UKRAINY, for example. This kind of attitude toward their adherents and "others" was also expressed repeatedly at the conference in the speeches of the delegates. A. Bolosov from Kharkov when he went up to the microphone said: "We all talk and talk, but nothing specific has been said, unfortunately, even by the people's deputies..." And he began to present a program perhaps of the Ukrainian delegation, or perhaps it was his own.

The representative of Sajudis stated, addressing G. Starovoytova: "Lithuania is a sovereign state and is not a part of the Soviet Union. I ask you to take that into account." To which Galina Mikhaylovna, addressing the hall now, responded: "Look, you see, a foreigner has come to our conference on exchange, without a visa..." An insignificant episode? A joke? No, a position. And not only of the Balts, who are not "embarrassed" to express themselves openly. This position was manifested when discussing the resolution on the national issue, but more about this later.

The first day of the work of the conference ended with a report from a member of the LNF coordination council, M. Salye, about the coordination of the actions of the democratic movements in the country. And although the representative of the Moscow People's Front, M. Malyutin, asserted in his speech that the tasks of the democratic movement do not include taking the power into their own hands "as the party apparatchiks try to tell us," and the chairman of the conference organizing committee dotted all the i's. Her speech was the shortest and, in my opinion, the frankest. In places where People's Deputies Afanasyev and Starovoytova spoke in smooth phrases, Maricha Yevgenyevna told it like it is and gave her own interpretation to the events and facts. I do not know how one explains such boldness of judgments, but it was not from the historian Afanasyev nor from the specialist in international relations Starovoytova, but from the geologist Salye that I heard about the "national liberation movement" developing in our country and about the revolutionary situation that really exists whereby "those on the bottom will not and those on the top cannot...."

Having begun his speech with a modified version of Lenin's phrase about the catastrophe that threatens us, M. Salye tried to convince the audience that the catastrophe is inevitable. She thinks that this is shown by: a) the insidious policy of the party apparatus, which is directed toward splitting the democratic movement; b) the readiness of Pamyat, along with General Gromov's Afghan veterans, to take power into their own hands; c) the "social" organizations inspired by the nomenklatura like the OFT [United Worker Front], the interfronts, the worker detachments for preservation of order, that same Pamyat, and so forth. She disputed the statement of Yu. Afanasyev concerning the "disorder in the ranks of the partocracy." No, Salye asserted, this is not confusion but a deceptive move that is precisely calculated. In order to reduce the consequences of the oncoming catastrophe, the democratic movement, in her opinion, should take power into its own hands as quickly as possible. Let it be by peaceful, parliamentary means, but—take over power! Do not wait until they give it to us. (And some democrats continue to assert that they are not striving for power!—I.L.) The first and hence the main task of the democratic movement according to M. Salye is to fill the role of constructive opposition to the party and again to call for joining forces in order to do this.

The reaction to the speech, which was made in a monotonous dry voice, was varied: Some nodded their heads in agreement, others shrugged their shoulders, and still others made a show of heading for the door. It is true that there were only a few in the last group and it could be that they were simply going home, being tired from all the talk. That is quite possible. But there was a reason for shrugging their shoulders. A national liberation movement? It is more like a national movement. And, as they say in Odessa, there is a large difference between the two. Take over power? This is not like a ten-spot borrowed from a friend until payday. Along with the power, one must take the burden of responsibility for the policy that is conducted. And will the people and the workers approve of it? They are not likely to be attracted by the "multisector" capitalist economy, even with the "most humane principles." In any case the striking miners were cool toward the agitators from the "democrats" to put it mildly, and they told them with their agitation against the CPSU "to make themselves scarce." The dissatisfaction with this circumstance made its way into M. Salye's speech. Initially welcoming the strike movement of the workers and comparing the transfer of the house of recreation belonging to the Kuzbass party organs for a sanatorium with expropriation of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat in 1917, a couple of minutes later she expressed the suspicion that these strikes were "inspired by the party apparatus"!?

I did not manage to clarify what the speaker welcomed and what she condemned. The leader declared the meeting closed. At that time outside the window one could hear a broken command on a megaphone. One of the delegates drew the blinds and a frightened female voice shouted: "Are they going to beat us!?" Under the window in the light of a floodlight seethed a crowd with banners "Down with...!" and the fright of the female delegates was understandable: Having heard the terrible speeches during the day, they could believe that the "partocracy" was capable of anything, right down to organizing the beating of those participating in the conference. "They will not beat you," the leader placated the woman. "They are just shooting a movie."

The next day the delegates worked in the sections corresponding to the subjects of their reports. I selected M. Salye's section where they discussed the tasks of democratic movements. In a situation where the attention of the delegates is fixed on a single issue, the disagreements among representatives of various movements were manifested more clearly. Even the People's Front members from various cities were not unanimous in their views of the tasks of the movements. The LNF, for example, suggested determining the ways of solving the problems already included in the program of the interregional group. Others stated that their program is their program and the democratic movement itself, before deciding how to do things, must decide what to do. Each delegation had its own idea about this and each speech generated arguments and there was no end in sight...

Trying to put a stop to debates that did not suit the organizers of the conference, the organizing committee proposed for approval a compromise draft resolution concerning the political situation in the country and the general tasks of the democratic movement. Having placed the blame on the CPSU ("The CPSU, having taken over the 'leading and directing role' in the society, bears full responsibility for the historical tragedy that has taken place in our country") and having accused the government and the "nomenklatura" of all the deadly sins, the authors of the resolution did not say a word about the concrete tasks of the democratic movement for "today" and "tomorrow."

The resolution on interethnic problems had even less luck. If we can "just forget" about the resolution on questions of coordination, as those who were dissatisfied with its content said, no compromises did any good with respect to ethnic problems. The draft resolution that was prepared would not pass as it was. Delegates from the republics and also from the cities of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] demanded that additions that they considered necessary be included in the text, but all attempts to change the formulation in any way, to augment their meaning, met with stubborn resistance from the LNF members in charge of the final meeting.

The work of the sections showed both those who arranged the conference and the delegates that they do not yet have mutual understanding and unity. Many delegations, disenchanted with the "all-union democratic forum," went home before the conference was over. To be honest, I too experienced a strong undermining of my belief in the ability of the "democrats" to take practical steps "for the benefit of perestroyka," as people like to write in their manifestoes and chargers. The tactic of dealing methodic blows to sore spots, which was justified during the course of the spring election campaign, has already become obsolete. Well, how much can be left to the role of pointing the finger? The more so since this "finger" gleans critical information from the central and local press, diluting it with conjecture and rumors. And for some reason the "fighters for democracy" are in no hurry to "dirty their hands" with concrete deeds, preferring to make challenges, statements, and demands. But everyone—both the "democrats" and the "reactionaries"—are already sick and tired of words. This is probably why far from all the delegations participated in the work of the final meeting when the resolution was adopted, and by the time they were to vote on what was, judging from preceding polemics, the most important resolution about ethnic problems, only 38 of the 81 delegations were left in the hall (each delegation received only one vote, so the size of the delegation would not make any difference) and the correctness of the voting itself was questionable. Nonetheless this circumstance did not bother the organizing committee and the discussion of the resolution began.

Those who left the hall early were mainly delegations from national movements who did not find support and "democrats" who did not wish to support the position of the MDG either fully or partially. But even the minority who remained did not accept the final text. The previously prepared text was "taken as a basis," with a number of reservations. The organizing committee promised to make additions and refinements after their consideration by the editorial commission but we do not know if this was done.

To my question about the quorum for voting, M. Salye responded: "Well, it is good that these critics left. It will be more peaceful without them." And here is the key to understanding democracy: Those who are with us are for democracy. Approximately the same as in Rukh. You understand?

And so the conference ended. On the eve of the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet the Interregional Group received its desired "vote of confidence" from the "All-Union Democratic Movement" and now can speak on its behalf. They also announced the creation of the "Interregional Association of Democratic Organizations." But only 20 of the 81 organizations participating in the work of the conference wanted to be included in it.

One cannot deny the fact that in the speeches of the delegates one could also hear suggestions which, in my opinion, are worthy of attention. Unfortunately, I did not find any of them in the resolutions.

Perestroyka opened up and released gigantic reserves of social energy among the people. The manifestation of this energy was frighteningly strange for many people because for such a long time we were taught to think "in the channels of historical instructions" or, rather, we had forgotten how to think at all. Hence, the fear as a reaction to any attempts to get out of the "channel"—Not analysis and not interpretation, but fear and a desire to suppress if they have any power over those around them, even the most insignificant kind. For, until recently the social activity of the masses could only be "unanimously approved." The people were called and permitted to show "an active position in life" at best only in their work place, while remaining silent about the fact that truly civic activity should not be restricted.

But still, perestroyka has changed our idea about activity. Thousands of Soviet citizens "from small to great" are beginning to participate in the democratization of the life of our society. In essence we are searching for new forms for their social organization that are in harmony with perestroyka. Unfortunately, it is here that many people will be extremely disenchanted; it is here that the ideological mistakes made in past years in the political education of our people will have the greatest effect.

The inability to assess a political situation correctly, the poor knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory which provokes people to revise it, and legal illiteracy make many people, who are doing the best they can to help perestroyka, incapable of making correct decisions independently. This causes sincere bitterness: They spend their time and energy in vain and they lose their faith in the success of the changes undertaken by the party. The only thing that is important is how they understand democracy: as the power of the people or the power of the adherents of democracy; freedom for all or freedom for themselves. Everyone must decide this before he takes up one banner or another. Even if it has written on it: "For our freedom and yours."

Biryukova Views Consumer Production Problems

PM0712164989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Dec 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "On the Threshold of the Congress"]

[Text] The social reorientation of the economy, announced in the CPSU decisions and at the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies, is not just wishful thinking, but the country's leadership's new, principled attitude to economic policy. A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, spoke at a meeting with a Moscow Knitwear Production Association on 6 December about the government's program of action for the further deepening of this process, and measures to improve the national economy.

This program, A.P. Biryukova noted, was formulated in a USSR Government report "On Measures to Improve the Economy, the Phases of Economic Reform, and Fundamental Attitudes in Formulating the 13th 5-Year Plan," formulated in advance and submitted for the examination of the Second Congress of People's Deputies. The prevailing situation requires the country's population to realize clearly what the problems are and by what means they must be solved.

A.P. Biryukova disclosed the basic provisions of the report prepared by the USSR Government. She noted in particular that despite serious problems, which have yet to be resolved, it would be incorrect to underestimate what has been done to turn the economy toward satisfying Soviet people's needs during the years of perestroyka. First of all, the growth in production of consumer goods is outstripping the growth in production of means of production and sizeable capital investments are being put into speeding up the development of the health service, education, culture, and housing construction. Big steps have been taken to strengthen social security for the population. The speaker then dwelt in detail on the most important social priorities and aims of the 13th 5-Year Plan and outlined fundamental attitudes to resolving tasks in this connection.

The deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers familiarized herself with the association's work, visited some shops and sections, and talked with workers. She noted that the shortage of consumer goods is connected in particular with the shortage of production capacities and equipment. For example, young people who have started working at this association after vocational and technical college have learned how to assemble machine tools bought in Japan. But a license was bought 2 years back for enterprises in the defense sectors to produce these goods in the USSR. Nevertheless, their production still has not been properly established.

Western firms buy a certain proportion of the association's output, A.P. Biryukova continued. And they would buy more, except that that would impoverish the domestic consumer market. But if it is not sold, there will be no currency to buy spare parts for imported equipment or to buy raw materials. The domestic chemical industry has fallen decades behind in meeting the needs of light industry as regards fibers, dyes, and other products.

Certain concrete questions regarding the enterprise's economic and social development were examined and ways of solving them were outlined during the visit to the association.

Religious Leaders Adopt Ethnic Relations Address

LD0812055889 Moscow TASS in English 2058 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—The address to all believers in the Soviet Union was adopted by heads and representatives of religions, churches and religious associations in the Soviet Union at a meeting on ethnic relations in the country. The meeting ended here today.

Processes jeopardising a healthy development of society are now taking place in the USSR, the document says.

This is manifested with particular acuteness in interethnic tension in a number of regions, which gives rise to special concern.

There is a need for undelayed normalisation of these relations on which the process of democratisation and humanisation underway in the Soviet Union largely demands.

Churches and religious organisations, some of which are multiethnic, are called upon to set a good example of brotherly relations among different ethnic groups, says the address.

Religious people are called upon to do their utmost to press together for the restoration of justice and reconciliation among peoples of the country.

The document emphasizes impermissibility of using religious ideas and symbols in political struggle and interethnic conflicts.

"We urge all believers in our country, people of different nationalities, not to infringe the rights of others, but to strengthen brotherly cooperation," the address says.

"We urge believers to help and support all people needing this, regardless of their nationality".

Religious leaders emphasize that it is a duty of the clergy and preachers in all religions to help religious people and all citizens to take the bearing in present-day ethnic situation, awaken their sense of responsibility for it and help them understand the causes of the aggravation of this situation. It is a duty of the clergy to indicate the roads of remedying the situation.

The address was circulated among Soviet and foreign journalists at a news conference held at the Department of External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate.

The address was formulated by clergy of the Armenian Apostolic Church, the Georgian Orthodox Church, the Russian Orthodox Church, Seventh-Day Adventists, All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists, the Evangelical Lutheran Churches of Lithuania and Estonia, the German Evangelical Lutheran Church in the USSR, the Methodist Church of Estonia, the Reform Church of the Transcarpathia, the Moscow Old Believers and the Novozybkov Old Believers Archiepiscopate of Old Orthodox Christians, Old Believers Councils and Communities, Buddhists in the USSR, representatives of Moslem organisations, of the Moscow Judaist community.

Crime-Wine Connection Examined

90UN0310C Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 46 18-24 Nov 89 p 8

[Editorial response to letter from reader V. Myasnikova]

[Text] *I read that the increase in crime is disproportionate to population growth but in line with the growing demand for wine. Can you confirm this?*

V. Myasnikova, Moscow

We asked V. Aristov, the secretary responsible at the Central Council of the All-union Voluntary Society for the Struggle for Sobriety.

There are different, at times conflicting opinions about the effectiveness of the measures to overcome drunkenness and alcoholism which were adopted recently. The table presented below will enable the readers of A&I [ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] to draw their own conclusions.

[Statistics for the USSR for the years 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988]

Alcoholic drinks sold (in alcohol per capita), liters: 1984—8.4; 1985—7.2; 1986—4.3; 1987—3.3; 1988—3.6

Alcohol products as a percentage of the total volume of goods turnover: 1984—16.7; 1985—14.7; 1986—10.9; 1987—10.7; 1988—11.2

Registered crimes (in thousands): 1984—more than 2 million; 1985—2,080; 1986—1,987.3; 1987—1,798.5; 1988—1,867.2

including premeditated murder: 1984—20,501; 1985—18,718; 1986—14,848; 1987—14,651; 1988—16,710

Analogous trends also have appeared in other types of crimes, as well as in missing work, injuries, death and even in divorce—in short, throughout the range of the social, economic, demographic and legal aspects of life.

In the first half of 1989, in comparison with the same period in 1988, crime rose by 32 percent. The sale of alcoholic drinks rose by 28 percent and made up 32 percent of the growth in retail goods turnover.

The average per-person income of one family member among workers and white collar workers in 1988 was about 153 rubles per month while the average per-person expenditure for alcohol products was about 143 rubles per year. Thus, the "green dragon" effectively "ate up" the monthly budget of a Soviet family, taking into account all monetary and in-kind income.

Ligachev Visits West Siberia Oil, Gas Town

LD0612210389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] The trip of [Yegor] Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, around towns of the West Siberian oil and gas complex is continuing. Today he arrived in Tomsk and spent several hours in the engineering center for acceleration where he showed a special interest in the developments of the Institute for the Physics of Hardness and Material Science of the Tomsk Department of the Siberian Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The same day Comrade Ligachev met representatives of the town's scientific and artistic intelligentsia.

Ligachev, Others Study Agro-industrial Issues

LD2611165889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Training of secretaries of Central Committees of union republics and kray and oblast committees of the party handling issues relating to the agroindustrial complex is taking place at the Institute for Enhancing the Qualificatons of Leading Party and Local Soviet Cadres of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee. The main subject in their studies is the provision of organizational and political support for the fulfilment of the decisions of the March, 1989, plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the further improvement of the style and methods of work by the party committees under the new conditions.

One of the groups of course members looked at the work of the Vitebsk Oblast Party organization. Present with the secretaries of the party committees was Ye. K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The second group of course members went to Kiev Oblast, as did Stroyev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, familiarized themselves with the experience of the Ryazan Oblast Party organization in putting the industries of the agroindustrial complex onto the effective path of development.

Minister Bakatin on MVD Problems, Tasks

PM1511164789 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 1 Nov 89 p 9

[Report on interview with USSR Minister of Internal Affairs Vadim Bakatin by Laura Starink: "We Are Rooting Out All Corruption in the Police Force"]

[Text] Vadim Bakatin has been minister of internal affairs for exactly 1 year, and this is not an easy job he is saddled with.

Bakatin was born in 1937 in the coal-mining district of the Kuzbass. After 13 years in the construction industry he began his ascent in the party. He progressed to party first secretary in Kirov and party secretary of the whole Kuzbass, until in October 1988 he was called to Moscow. Now he is in his office at the ministry in Zhitnaya Street from 0800 to 2200 and is homesick for Siberia. My interview with him took place immediately after a big meeting. A group of disconcerted or serious-looking men emerged from the minister's office.

Bakatin gives the impression of being tough, competent, and straightforward. He does not shrink from unpopular announcements. During the Central Committee Plenum in September on the nationalities question he lectured the republics, because when things get out of hand they refuse to shoulder the responsibility that they demand so vociferously. Bakatin: "I was speaking off the cuff a little at the plenum, so I no longer know exactly what I said. There is no republic that is against the extension of sovereignty. But as soon as public order on the territory of the republic itself is at stake, they all look to the center, to the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] and ask for troops. When we talk about rights, we should also talk about responsibilities. We have to spot impending conflicts and try to resolve them using means other than force. For example, if attempts had been made in Uzbekistan to bring the two potential enemies (the Uzbeks and the Meskhetian Turks—Laura Starink note) into contact, the conflict might have been prevented. If such attempts fail, the MVD must send troops, but only at the request of the republic in question. For example, I have just received another telegram from Abkhazia asking for reinforcements. Our internal security troops are a mobile reserve which can be in Fergana tomorrow and Abkhazia the day after. They then come under the responsibility of the minister of internal affairs of the republic in question."

At the present moment there are 38,000 internal security troops and they are nearly all deployed somewhere. The decision to expand these troops by 20,000-25,000 has already been made, and with that number Bakatin hopes to be able to keep nationalities conflicts such as Nagorno-Karabakh within bounds. He does not want to indulge in fortune telling, but he hopes nevertheless that the violence will soon be past its peak. "We will build our federation on a more democratic basis, and then the situation will stabilize itself. Our overcentralized system was unbalanced; all rights were to be found at the top; and we have to turn the pyramid upside down. Soon there will be elections to the local soviets and they will have an effect. Each region has its own field of tension; in the Western Ukraine, for example, religion plays a major role. That problem also will be solved, for freedom of belief is one of the principles that must be implemented."

At the plenum, Bakatin also voiced his dissatisfaction with the release of the members of the Karabakh Committee and with the attitude of the regional authorities to "extremist elements." "Arbitrary power, as in the 1930's, is execrable, but not less frightening than the arbitrary developments which take place when power is absent. Anarchy begins when people no longer have any respect for the law. If the law prescribes that someone should be imprisoned, then nothing should prevent that.

The conflict surrounding Karabakh has resulted in almost 300,000 refugees and 100 dead. There were leaders who incited people to this. Whether they did so consciously or unconsciously can only be decided by the courts. That is why some of the members of the Karabakh Committee were arrested. An investigation was started. And suddenly they were freed, for purely political reasons. It suited the republic's leadership better. That is lawlessness. The law does not always work here any more. We have no political prisoners, but our book of criminal law has articles which sentence people for inciting the overthrow of the Soviet regime, for example. Are there people who are guilty of this? There are bound to be. Is the law applied? No. Why not? Because today we have all become superdemocrats."

[Starink] As far as I am aware, the members of the Karabakh Committee have not urged the overthrow of the Soviet regime.

[Bakatin] No, but they have stirred up a conflict between two nations. Their activities have had tragic consequences. If you look at the Armenian and Azerbaijani newspapers today, you see that tension is being increased. No one tries to bring people to their senses, the existing constitution is not recognized, the interests of the other side are completely ignored, and enmity between the nations continues to be stirred up. And the law which makes this punishable is today a dead letter.

[Starink] Have there been trials on the basis of Article 7 in the new constitution (inciting the armed overthrow of the system)?

[Bakatin] There have been trials after all the riots, but not on the basis of that article. The accused were tried on concrete charges: homicide, theft, arson. But they were all second-level figures. The organizers of the unrest remain unpunished.

[Starink] Do you believe in the theory that "corrupt elements" are inciting enmity between the peoples?

[Bakatin] That is no theory. Organized crime has the shadow economy as its foundation and corrupt power organs, including the police and the Public Ministry [as published], as its cover. Their interests are closely entwined and they have an interest in destabilizing the situation and legalizing their ill-gotten gains. That is why they think nothing of paying someone to set fire to the house of a Meskhetian Turk, or of buying up all the salt to create shortages, or of seeing to it that railroad cars are not unloaded.

[Starink] But where is the proof?

[Bakatin] I am no judge or prosecutor. But there is much evidence that people have been paid for arson. You must not imagine this mafia as a pyramid with a leader at the top. It is really much more discreet. All the corrupt clans which have lost their leading position have an influence on the situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan. Unfortunately we still do not have a detailed analysis of this shadow economy. In my view, economic crime is the greatest danger threatening us at the moment. Not so much ordinary crime against the person—which is much lower than in the United States, for example. But speculation, bribery, and large-scale theft—they are a very serious problem.

[Starink] What are your plans?

[Bakatin] In the first place we must strengthen the OBKhSS (the Service to Combat the Theft of Socialist Property—Laura Starink note) not only materially, but also technologically. We are probably the only country in the world where evidence acquired through technological means is not accepted by the courts. Second, we do not have a good financial monitoring system, we do not have any good tax inspectors. Everyone in the Soviet Union can keep their income covered. There is no all-embracing taxation system.

[Starink] But is it true that crime is rising so alarmingly? You sometimes get the impression that the media want to give people the creeps.

[Bakatin] The problem is that we have nothing with which to compare the situation. In the past the statistics were secret and also inaccurate. We played down crime. That is a practice which we have now ended. I myself am criticized from all sides because I say that crime will rise. How can the minister of internal affairs predict a rise in crime? He must be daydreaming!

But crime probably will have to rise. In the past everyone received R120, but now there are people who earn R10,000, R15,000, or even R90,000 per month. Naturally there are people who would like to get that much money themselves. Why is crime 10 times higher in the United States than it is here? Because differences in income are greater. In a transitional period there can be no balanced developments, and unbalanced developments always lead to a rise in crime.

[Starink] How serious are the links between organized crime and the police?

[Bakatin] Our police force is undoubtedly affected by corruption. I do not know how seriously. But each police officer we catch, we get rid of. For me that is one of the most important problems—purging the police of corrupt elements.

[Starink] What, for you, is the ideal policeman?

[Bakatin] He has to be strong and healthy, of high moral standing and pure. He has to understand something of politics; and the most important thing is that he must be professional, for professionalism among criminals is also on the increase. Up to now a new policeman has been paid R160 per month! From 1 January we will raise salaries by R40. The cooperatives are now enticing our policemen away to work as security guards with starting salaries of R600. But even if we were to double salaries tomorrow, people would still be the same. After the salary increase we will have to purge the ranks and chose people who meet the requirements. But alas, at present we cannot choose; the supply of men is not great. After that we must improve training. We have already extended training from 4 to 10 months, but even that is not enough.

[Starink] In the fight against organized crime your ministry is going to work together with the KGB. What do your expect from this?

[Bakatin] We have drawn up a joint plan of action and organized a series of seminars with the help of the KGB. We have also asked the KGB to keep us up to date. We want them to help us unmask corrupt officers.

[Starink] So the KGB will shadow the police?

[Bakatin] If you want to put it as crudely as that, yes. Naturally not all policemen, but those who are suspected of corruption.

[Starink] Changes are also being implemented at the MVD. A separate MVD has just been set up for the Russian republic. Unlike the other 14 union republics, the Russian republic hitherto did not have its own ministries, or its own Communist Party. This inequality is now being corrected.

[Bakatin] Our principles are decentralization and democratization. But implementing them is not that simple. Democratization is necessary in order to set people's initiative free. They have to be creative. This also applies to the militia. In the Soviet Union people are used to working under orders. As soon as the order is given, you get moving; and as long as it is not given, you remain immobile until it is given. An additional problem is that the ministry has a military hierarchy. Orders, statutes, instructions—these are difficult to square with democracy. We have invited a whole series of new people to join our collegium, so that we no longer simply meet with generals. We have also set up a ministry council, on which ordinary policemen and firemen from throughout the country sit. I have also set up committees of experts. Before I sign a decree on the criminal investigation department, for example, it must first be commented on by the detectives on the ground.

[Starink] Ultimately decentralization must lead to a clear division of functions between the center and the republics.

[Bakatin] The republics must reach their own decisions on the maintenance of public order, transport, and the fire service, and only those crimes and those investigations which are outside their territory will not be dealt with at the local level.

[Starink] Minister Bakatin also thinks that in the short term the Soviet Union should become a member of Interpol, that foreign contacts must be intensified, and that the Soviet Union must learn quickly from foreign experience.

[Bakatin] The way in which criminal justice is arranged in the United States appeals to me; it is more effective and more rational than in the Soviet Union. But we cannot abandon all our traditions at a stroke; that would be much too fundamental a break. But I do see something in the organization of the FBI.

[Starink] In what respect is the situation in the camps changing?

[Bakatin] By and large, not much has changed in the camps, apart from the virtual halving of the number of prisoners. The ministry is in favor of a humanization of the system, but we are still not getting any response from the people on the scene. This can partly be explained by the fact that after the amnesty in the camps it is the most criminal segment which is left, the "convinced" miscreants, whom you cannot release. The tension in the camps has increased.

[Starink] Do you expect riots?

[Bakatin] No, I do not expect riots, although already there often are disturbances. But we can keep things under control.

[Starink] A crime prevention service has been set up at the ministry.

[Bakatin] Yes, although you sometimes get the impression that people think they can solve problems simply by setting up some service or other. It is society which gives birth to crime; and if society is sick, crime starts to rise; if society is healthy, crime falls. Everyone who thinks that they can play a part in combating crime and rehabilitating former criminals is welcome, whether they are believers, writers, or charitable organizations. I myself write letters to religious leaders. Our door is open, although it may be that in some places obstruction still occurs. You must not think that everything is changing so fast here; we are a big country.

Abalkin at Gorkiy Oblast Aktiv

*PM0712160589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Dec 89 First Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "Securing the People's Support"]

[Text] Gorkiy, 5 Dec—The measures to restore the economy proposed by the country's government can only be put into effect with the active involvement of every working person. This was the subject of discussion at a meeting of the oblast aktiv in Gorkiy.

This package of measures is intended to effect a drastic reorientation of the economy, with priority being given to speeding up the solution of social problems. The new government program aimed at extricating the country from economic crisis is being submitted for discussion by the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

The following took part in the aktiv's work: L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the the USSR Council of Ministers;

G.M. Khodyrev, first secretary of the Gorkiy CPSU Oblast Committee; and A.A. Sokolov, chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee.

Vlasov Has 'Relaxed' Talk With Newsmen

PM0712162389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting With Russian Journalists"]

[Text] Our time has given rise to different, sometimes extreme viewpoints on Russia's development at the present stage of perestroyka, ranging from the need for complete sovereignty and secession from the USSR to claims that the country's largest republic has ground to a halt.

"None of these viewpoints can be regarded as correct," A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, said at a meeting with TASS correspondents and photojournalists accredited to all the oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics of the RSFSR. "Our stance is based on the fact that Russia cannot conceive of its future outside the framework of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, we are not entitled to make fundamental mistakes, since like all sensible people we are well aware of their consequences for the country.

"The solution is to be seen in sensible decentralization, a clear demarcation of competence, rights, and obligations at different levels, and the optimal use of the ties formed within the country's integrated national economic complex. However, it is impossible to make these decisions until laws on ownership, land, and the tax system and a number of other laws are passed.

"The switching of territories to the principles of self-financing and self-management began with the development of a regional economic accountability mechanism for three regions: the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR], Sverdlovsk Oblast, and the city of Moscow. They will operate under the new conditions as of 1 January. But this is only the beginning.

"Kemerovo Oblast is also ready to switch to self-financing and self-management. The government has also examined a range of questions concerned with switching Moscow, Chelyabinsk, Vologda, Irkutsk, Tomsk, Kuybyshev, and a number of other oblasts. We are not lagging behind at all, but we are not being hasty either. We are advancing steadily, since account must be taken of the fact that productive forces in Russia are unevenly distributed. There are industrially developed regions. Other regions are characterized by a high standard of agricultural development. A third group has an undeveloped infrastructure.

"Enormous work concerned with preparing new normative acts and improving pricing and the formation of territories' budget is now under way. After all, unlike an unprofitable enterprise, you cannot 'close down' a territory or convert it....

"The strengthening of local soviets' financial base, the development of autonomy in questions of planning, new prices for raw materials and semimanufactures, and the devising of economic models for major regions—only with successful solution of these crucial questions will the switch to self-management and self-financing be sound and effective."

There were many questions. They concerned the environment, demography, informal associations, and relations with the press. On the whole the event, which was conceived as a meeting at the RSFSR Council of Ministers, virtually turned into a press conference, or, more accurately, into a relaxed dialogue between the head of the Russian Government and representatives from every corner of Russia.

It was also stressed that in tackling these tasks one has to contend with stubborn departmentalism reluctant to lose its influence on entire regions, fresh flurries of local favoritism, and "group" selfishness, not to mention pressure from the black economy.

F.A. Tabeyev, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and Deputy Chairmen A.A. Babenko, L.A. Gorshkov, and V.G. Zakharov took part in the conversation. They answered numerous questions.

Lukyanov at Moscow Conference on Legal Reforms

PM0712154389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 89 Second Edition p 6

[S. Luknitskiy report under the rubric "Conference Notes": "The Law and the State"]

[Text] Moscow—The practical conference "Shaping a Socialist Rule-of-Law State" concluded its work in Moscow yesterday. It was held by the All-Union "Znaniye" Society, the USSR Jurists Union, and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law. Its participants discussed a package of problems associated with the strategy for developing Soviet legislation, social protection of the individual, the strengthening of guarantees of his rights and freedoms, the struggle against crime, and questions of universal juridical education.

The recommendations formulated by the conference were based on 3 days of strenuous work and the pointed, problem-centered nature of the speeches. The adopted document points out that perestroyka in the legal sphere means the elaboration and consistent performance of work on radically improving legislation and organizing lawmaking on truly democratic principles, the real protection of citizens' rights and freedoms, and the cardinal improvement of the system of juridical information and legal education.

The conference pointed out that the study of problems of the rule-of-law state, the political and legal system, and legality has considerable reserves for a comprehensive approach to topical problems of the economic, political, and legal reforms. This applies, above all, to the new formulation of a number of fundamental problems of socialism.

A. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, participated in the work of the conference.

Taking account of the interest in the problems discussed at the conference, a decision was adopted to publish its materials as a separate publication and also in one of the issues of the journal SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO.

More Details on Girenko Crimea Visit

PM0712153789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 89 Moscow Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Meetings With Voters"]

[Text] USSR People's Deputy A.N. Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was in the Crimea 30 November through 2 December.

During his stay in the oblast he visited Simferopol, Sevastopol, and Yalta, where he met with voters, party and soviet workers, the ideological aktiv, and journalists.

In his speeches A.N. Girenko gave an account of the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet sessions and preparations for the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Much attention was focused on the most acute problems of the current stage of perestroyka and preparations for elections to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet and local soviets of people's deputies. In preparation for the election campaign, the country's party organizations are elaborating their election platforms. The Sevastopol City party organization adopted its election platform as one of the first in the Crimean Oblast. The quality of the new soviets and ultimately also the success of the economic and political reforms will depend to a considerable degree on the implementation of these programs.

These questions were also discussed keenly and actively during A.N. Girenko's meetings with workers at the Crimean electrorepair plant whose collective nominated him as candidate USSR people's deputy, with seamen of the refrigerator-transport "Proliv Viktoriya", and the "Yugrybtranssbyt" Administration. The deputy gave an account of the implementation of voters' mandates and answered numerous questions. A.N. Girenko also received people wishing to consult him on personal matters.

A.N. Girenko was accompanied on his tour of the Crimea by N.V. Bagrov, first secretary of Crimean Oblast Party Committee.

Portugalov Rules Out Multiparty System

AU2111205489 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 21 Nov 89 p 6

[Ruediger Moniac report: "The Soviet Union Wants To Learn From Federal System"]

[Text] Munich—Nikolay Sergeyevich Portugalov, one of the leading advisors of chief of the Kremlin Mikhail Gorbachev and deputy chairman of the German-Soviet Society, made surprising statements at the new Franz-Josef Strauss Symposium of the Hanns Seidel Foundation in Munich. According to Portugalov, much will change in the Soviet Union, but decisive things will also continue to exist. The Communists will remain the leaders in the state.

Portugalov himself asked the "crucial question about the multiparty system" and said that it would not come. Nothing could be done in Moscow "without the CPSU as the leading force," he said. Portugalov said: Why do we need many parties, if the Communist Party in itself is already pluralist?

That has nothing to do with Western ideas of democracy. According to Portugalov, the Kremlin intends to adopt certain elements of the systems of Western states in order to mitigate internal tensions and make the economy competitive. However, that is all, the Central Committee advisor stressed. Portugalov said that "socialism will permit private ownership of the means of production." The national economy will be allowed to develop "without the controlling force of the party." Portugalov even talked about market economy as a goal. In addition, the Federal Republic is an example worthy of imitation for the Soviets on another point: Its federal system is supposed to help relax the nationalities' conflicts in the USSR, which have been constantly aggravating. The ethnic groups will be permitted to develop more influence for their interests in Moscow. Portugalov said verbatim: "We can learn a lot from the German federal system."

The Soviet Union expects yet more development aid from the West. Portugalov says that the USSR wants to become a member of international organizations such as GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Taxes] and the IMF [International Monetary Fund], in order to make its economy flexible for the world market.

Walter Momper's thesis of the "GDR nation" is rejected by Portugalov. He says: "There is no GDR nationality." He says that the majority of the GDR people presumably back a socialism that is ready for reforms. However, if the people make a different decision, "we will not interfere," says Portugalov. He does not call into question the existence of a German nation. Nonetheless, there will be no reunification, he says. "The Basic Law does not say anything about it," he says, and adds that the idea of the two German states getting together can only be accepted within the framework of European integration.

Coal Miners' Union Holds Plenum

904F0043B Moscow TRUD in Russian
2 Dec 89 p 2

[Text] The Coal Industry Workers Trade Union Central Committee Eighth Plenum was held yesterday in Moscow. Its participants discussed questions connected with the preparation of the 15th congress of the sector's union, which is to be held at the end of March 1990, and adopted the corresponding resolution.

Delivering the report, M. Srebnyy, chairman of the union Central Committee, emphasized, inter alia, that the miners' strike movement had not only compelled the socioeconomic problems troubling the miners to be viewed in a new light but had also required fundamental changes in union work. Many constructive proposals in this connection had been made by the present report and election campaign. The process of perestroyka is gathering pace: The structure of the union authorities is changing, and they have come to be led by energetic, businesslike people elected on the basis of choice. Practically every trade union committee and territorial committee now has a specific action program pertaining to defense of the working people's interests.

The upcoming congress of the union must consolidate these processes and develop them and suffuse the work of the trade union authorities and the primary organizations with qualitatively new content.

The participants in the plenum observed particularly that it was essential that the sector's union formulate an action program in the upcoming elections to the local soviets and strive to ensure that the representatives of the miners' outfits become elected to the local organs of power and defend the miners' interests. They paid much attention in their speeches to the strike movement. While emphasizing the justice of the miners' demands, the participants in the plenum called attention to the fact that the agreements between the strike committees and the government commissions should be fulfilled completely and within the agreed timeframe.

Joint Venture Workers Form Trade Union

904F0043A Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 Dec 89 p 2

[Text] As our paper has already reported, the constituent conference of the All-Union Federation of Joint Venture Trade Union Organizations has been held. N.A. Mikhaylov, representative of the "Lingvotekhnika" Soviet-Bulgarian Joint Association, was elected its chairman. TRUD correspondent S. Pankratov interviewed him.

[Pankratov] What was the need for the creation of the federation?

[Mikhaylov] However paradoxical, the workers of joint ventures (JV) are, granted the good wages, the least protected from the social viewpoint. The sectoral unions are in no hurry to take up the JV's problems both on account of their specific features and in view of the smallness of the workforce of the latter. Yet it is well known that in the present trade union system the amount of social benefits is distributed proportionate to the numbers of those working at a given works. And, of course, it is difficult for the JV, the majority of which currently has 10-15 persons, to hope to obtain trade union passes and accommodation. It is with the solution of these problems that we will deal primarily.

But this is the tip of the iceberg, so to speak. At the same time, however, there are also other, no less important questions with which our federation will deal. The active participation of its representatives in the formation of the legal basis of JV and also improvement of the current legislation pertaining to questions of labor and wages and the legal safeguards of the people working at the JV is contemplated.

[Pankratov] Will there be something new in the federation's trade union work conditioned by the specifics of the JV?

[Mikhaylov] Undoubtedly, yes. The laws of the free market, which foreign partners are introducing to our activity, will confront the federation with new tasks also. We are currently observing a kind of euphoria, and many Soviet executives would be prepared tomorrow even to sign a contract which would make their enterprise a joint venture. And in accordance with the tradition which has evolved in our economy, we do not in embarking upon some business give thought to how it will end (to which of us does it occur in establishing a factory to forecast its possible liquidation?). In the West reorganizations and bankruptcies even are quite a frequent phenomenon, and only he who is able to satisfy the consumer better and faster survives. This now applies to our JV also. Such as have been unable to remain afloat have appeared among them already, and liquidation and dismissals lie ahead. It is here that the federation will be of assistance. We are creating a special fund which will enable people to receive benefits while looking for work.

[Pankratov] Your federation is only just starting out. What do you consider the most important for it today?

[Mikhaylov] Trust and support. Including the trust and support of the trade union outfits of JV which are currently deciding whether to join our organization.

Urals Primary Party Organizations Confer

PM0712153589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Dec 89 First Edition p 1

[Interview with P.V. Kiriyenko, secretary of the party committee of the Perm "Motorostroitel" Production Association named for Ya.M. Sverdlov, by own correspondent Yu. Shatalov: "We Shall Join Forces; Secretaries of Primary Party Organizations in the Urals Gathered For Major Consultation"—first paragraph is introduction; place and date of interview not given]

[Text] A 3-day conference of secretaries of primary party organizations in the Urals is beginning in the city of Perm. Our correspondent met with P.V. Kiriyenko, chairman of the conference organizing committee and secretary of the party committee of the Perm "Motorostroitel" Production Association named for Ya.M. Sverdlov.

[Kiriyenko] The eight Urals oblasts had the idea for the conference. We intend to discuss and approve a number of proposals and recommendations which we will then send to the appropriate CPSU Central Committee commissions dealing with the preparation for the 28th CPSU Congress. Precisely the questions which today concern Communists most of all are on the conference agenda.

For many years it was proclaimed from all platforms that the primary party organization is the base of the CPSU. Unfortunately, we have still not moved beyond talking. In most people's minds as before the party is associated with rayon, city, and oblast party committees and the CPSU Central Committee. That is, more often not with the elected organ but its apparatus. Our conference and particularly preparation for it are an attempt to break this stagnant stereotype and give the primary party organization the chance to really demonstrate its independence.

[Shatalov] Is it possible to assess the working conference as an attempt to bring primary party organizations out from under the petty tutelage of higher level party organs?

[Kiriyenko] Not at all. Our actions do not contradict either the CPSU Statutes or party policy. We shall be glad if representatives of the party apparatus take part in the conference's work on an equal footing with us, as many workers in the Perm oblast CPSU committee, who, incidentally, helped us a lot to organize the conference, intend to do.

But we expect that the individual recommendations and conclusions which we intend to send to the CPSU Central Committee will be received without much enthusiasm by some party apparatus workers. It is already well known, for example, that some senior party leaders of cities and oblasts in the Urals have not allowed primary party organization secretaries to come to Perm for the conference. What does this indicate? Not only the stagnant way of thinking, I think. Evidently, in their preoccupation with current affairs some party leaders failed to notice that consolidation of various movements and organizations is taking place in the country. If Communists fail to do the same at the level of primary party organizations, the party may very soon end up in the second echelon of perestroyka.

[Shatalov] Petr Vasilyevich, you said that the working groups together with scientists formulated specific proposals which will be sent to the CPSU Central Committee commissions preparing for the 28th Congress. What is the essence of these proposals?

[Kiriyenko] This is still only at the planning stage, as it were. For example, two variants are being proposed for electing delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress. The first in no way differs from that which has been practiced until now. The second has never been adopted in our party: The delegates to the congress are elected on the basis of the universal, direct, and equal right to vote by a secret ballot of CPSU members.

Two ways to form the party's central organs are also being proposed.

We have formulated specific proposals on the formation of the party's elected organs, on the creation of a Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party, and on changes to the CPSU Statutes.

Publication of Three Newspapers Delayed

904H0075A Moscow GUDOK in Russian
1 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Why Yesterday's Issues Did Not Appear"]

[Text] Dear reader, you should have received today's issue of GUDOK yesterday. But the 30 November issue was not published. We had an accident. For several days the premises of the printing plant and editorial office were not protected from the cold. A hot water pipe burst, which was reported on Monday, 27 November, to the First Rayon directorate of the Teploset [Moscow City Trust of Centralized Heat Supply Networks] of Mosenergo [Moscow Regional Administration of Power System Management].

In spite of numerous reminders, however, no measures were taken. As a result, temperatures in the premises reached a level of 1-5 degrees. Cooled down, the linotypes stopped working, the teletype began functioning intermittently, the zincography developer froze up, typesetting and composition arms grew stiff, ice particles and water appeared on the graphics. It was impossible to function.

Only the next day—and then thanks to the fact that the ice outside diminished—were we able to get to work on the issue that was skipped. We therefore extend our apologies for the fact that we are printing some of the material late, and possibly with errors—we could not do all of the proof correcting under the circumstances.

Along with the 30 November issue of GUDOK, readers did not receive issues of the newspapers VOZDUSHNYY TRANSPORT and VODNYY TRANSPORT, also published by our press.

This incident is unprecedented. We cannot let it go without proper consideration, without drawing serious conclusions and holding the guilty parties strictly accountable. This is demanded by the editorial staff and the workers of the printing plant.

Latest Issue of KOMMUNIST Outlined

PM2911141589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "The Latest Issue of the Journal KOMMUNIST"]

[Text] The 17th, special issue of the periodical KOMMUNIST is devoted to the concept of socialism and perestroyka.

The journal lets its readers have a say who, in with their letters, ponder the future of socialism and the paths to the restructuring of society.

The discussion on the renewal of the party and its new role in restructuring processes is continued in the items entitled "Seeking New Attitudes" and "Party Membership Cards of What Color?"

A. Auzan's item, "Pluralism of Ownership and the Models of Socialism" is devoted to a new interpretation of many traditional ideas of political economy. In the article "The importance of acceleration," O. Latsis examines priorities in economic policy. "How Do We Set Our Social Aims?" is answered by V. Kostakov, director of the USSR State Planning Committee Scientific Research Institute of Economics in his interview.

The journal also presents an "outsider's view." V. Chalidze, the current affairs writer and publisher from the United States, affirms in his article "On the Socialist Constitution": "I am not a socialist. I like free competition and a free market. But my attraction to democratic capitalism does not prevent me from understanding that socialist ideas are inevitable and even necessary in society."

S. Alekseyev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, gave his article "Unruly Demons of our Life" the appellation: "Subjective observations." In contrast to other views about society's present and future, based on the idea that the unrestrained, burgeoning development of the economy and consumption is natural and justified, the author develops the idea of a regulated, restrained, reasonable, moral, and humanist existence and progress for mankind.

The journal contains an article by the Yugoslav scientist S. Zivanov, "Reforms in Socialist Countries" and an article by the Czechoslovak economist V. Komarek, "Structural Changes in the Socialist Economy." L. Shevtsova's notes are devoted to the coming into being of socialism in Eastern Europe.

Leaders Sign Writer G.M. Gulia Obituary

PM0712101789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 89 Second Edition p 6

[Obituary of Georgiy Dmitriyevich Gulia]

[Excerpts] Soviet multiethnic literature has suffered a great loss. Georgiy Dmitriyevich Gulia, eminent Soviet writer, laureate of the USSR State Prize, and honored figure in the arts world of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic and Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, has died at 77. [Passage omitted]

[Signed] V.A. Medvedev, E.A. Shevarnadze, A.N. Yakovlev, A.I. Lukyanov, A.N. Girenko, R.N. Nishanov, A.S. Kapto, G.G. Gumbaridze, V.V. Karpov, A.A. Belyayev, N.A. Chitanava, V.F. Khishba, G.A. Anchabadze, V.O. Kobakhiya, I.V. Abashidze, Ch.T. Aytmatov, S.A. Baruzdin, Yu.P. Voronov, Yu.N. Verchenko, Yu.T. Gribov, A.N. Gogua, N.N. Gubenko, Ye.A. Yevtushenko, Yu.P. Izyumov, A.A. Mikhaylov, S.V. Mikhalkov, K.V. Skvortsov, Ye.Yu. Sidorov, A.B. Chakovskiy, Yu.I. Surovtsev, and B.V. Shinkuba.

Leaders Sign N.S. Patolichev Obituary

PM0712110189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 89 Second Edition p 6

[Obituary of Nikolay Semenovich Patolichev]

[Excerpts] Nikolay Semenovich Patolichev, a personal pensioner of union status and a CPSU member since 1928, has died at 81. [passage omitted]

In 1956-1958 N.S. Patolichev was USSR deputy and first deputy foreign minister, and from 1958 to his retirement in 1985 he was USSR minister of foreign trade. [passage omitted]

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, V.A. Kryuchkov, Ye.K. Ligachev, Yu.D. Maslyukov, V.A. Medvedev, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, E.A. Shevardnadze, A.N. Yakovlev, A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, A.I. Lukyanov, Ye.M. Primakov, B.K. Pugo, G.P. Razumovskiy, D.T. Yazov, O.D. Baklanov, A.N. Girenko, Yu.A. Manayenkov, Ye.S. Stroyev, G.I. Usmanov, V.A. Ivashko, Ye.Ye. Sokolov, B.M. Volodin, A.P. Litovchenko, I.A. Tolstoukhov, S.A. Sitaryan, K.F. Katushev, V.L. Malkevich, O.F. Klimenko.

Economic

Attempt To Restrain Price Increases Welcomed

PM0712094789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 89 Second Edition p 2

[Ye. Sorokin "Political Diary": "Pockets And Prices"]

[Text] Tens of millions of people in our country sighed with relief when the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On Additional Measures to Stabilize the Consumer Market and Strengthen State Price Controls" was published in the press. It did not come easily, this decision—to some extent an emergency measure. But, as USSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman L.I. Abalkin noted during the discussion of it in parliament, there is no right greater than the right of the people.

It is difficult not to agree with this. Perhaps there is no more pressing issue today than prices. Statistics warn of the growth of plainly speculative trends in industry. In the last three years alone—1985-1988—television sets have risen in price by R82.50 on average, cameras by R6, and sewing machines by R21. In the first half of 1989 the index reflecting the increase in the prices of food commodities was 104% for the families of workers and employees and 103% for rural inhabitants. During the same period expenditure on food increased by 6% in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and by 11% on nonfood goods.

This is largely the result of the widespread use of the "N" and "D" indexes since the Law on the State Enterprise came into effect. Very often goods which are no different from other items of the same type—in terms of quality, appearance or... prime cost—end up in this category. In the past two years alone their share of overall production has risen from 30 to 41.5%. Essentially it is a case of monopoly enterprises obtaining unearned income.

Given the absence of competition, many enterprises see economic independence as an opportunity to "make money." The Supreme Soviet decided to suspend until 1 January 1991 the action of paragraph 10 of article 17 of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), pertaining to the establishment of contract prices for basic foodstuffs sold in the state trade network, apart from potatoes, dessert grapes, fruit and vegetable products, and also products processed from them, including canned goods.

The establishment of contract prices for some groups of socially significant nonfood goods, primarily for children and the elderly, has also been "frozen."

A list of popular goods has been drawn up whose state retail prices will remain the same—meat and meat products, fish and canned fish, bread, tea, sugar, milk and dairy products, butter and vegetable oil, eggs, and many other items that form part of the daily diet.

Formerly, the plan was to switch to the sale of vegetables and potatoes mainly at contract prices in 1990. But, in view of the declaration by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] 6th Plenum and of public opinion, it has been decided to set maximum retail prices for these products, allowing for seasonal variations.

The use of contract prices is severely restricted. They will not exceed state prices by more than 30%. Specific work is being done to prevent popular cheap goods from being withdrawn from production and to prevent increases in the retail prices of new goods that are out of proportion to changes in quality, technical-economic indicators, and consumer properties.

In order to stabilize the domestic consumer market the government has proposed limiting export deliveries. Indeed, is it right to export when our stores are short of 3,000 television sets and export commitments have been exceeded by 8,000 items? There are plenty of examples of this type. The USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU have 10 days, moreover, to compile a list of goods which have to be sold at socially acceptable prices.

It is a fundamentally important fact that the USSR State Committee for Statistics and State Committee on Prices have been instructed to devise in the first quarter of 1990 a system for calculating prices and inflation indexes, while the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the AUCCTU will prepare proposals on introducing compensation for people with fixed incomes, and above all the badly off groups of the population.

Of course, both parliament and government are aware that these are temporary measures. It can rightly be said that they are unpopular with the goods manufacturers. But it must not be forgotten that they are all consumers, too. The expansion of market relations should not lead to a fall in living standards in the country.

October Figures Show Continuing Shortfalls

PM0712143789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
6 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Yu. Rytov report under the "Statistics and Our Commentary" rubric: "We're Shortchanging Ourselves"]

[Text] Recent statistical reports illustrate that the economic situation has still not stabilized. All economic sectors are working unstably. The strain in the consumer market is intensifying.

One of our prominent economists made the following witty observation. Quite recently, he noted, the formula for production collectives' modus operandi was as follows: The impossible is impossible and the possible is also impossible. The formula has now changed dramatically and looks like this: The possible is possible and the impossible is also possible....

What is meant by this? A sharp decline in contract discipline. Disregard of consumers' interests. A desire to solve all one's problems via unwarranted price increases. A mad striving for superprofits and pay increases unconnected to the concrete results of work.... All these processes—although there has been talk of them for several months now—can still be felt very keenly.

Let us turn, for instance, to the report from the USSR State Committee for Statistics on our industry's work in October. In this period there was an overall increase in production of 3%. Not that bad, one would think.... But this October there were two more working days than last October. So, if you take the average daily output, you get not a "plus" at all but a "minus" of 1.8%.

In October alone customers failed to received R1 billion's worth of industrial output. But the overall shortfall for the first 10 months this year totaled R8.2 billion. Some 23% of associations and enterprises (almost one-fourth!) have failed to meet their contract commitments.

When you read statistical reports carefully, you can see distinctly how unbalanced our economy is and how sorry the consequences are that are brought about by enterprises' maneuverings under the slogan: "The impossible is possible just the same...." Production of the most essential economic output is quite often declining, established technological ties between enterprises are breaking down, and imbalances are intensifying in the final echelon—consumer goods production—so that the commodity famine is increasing.

Examples? You can have as many as you like. USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry enterprises have cut production of the basic types of raw chemicals for the production of synthetic detergents—sulphonol [sulfonol] and synthetic fatty alcohols. Is this generating panic in the consumer market again? No, the lag has been made up by buying these components abroad....

Or take the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry. In October alone production of lumber in the sector's enterprises fell by 2% in comparison with the same period last year while production of commercial woodpulp, merchantable timber and board, and paper dropped by 5%, 6%, and 1.5% respectively. As a result, the paper shortfall since the beginning of the year totals 6,300 tonnes. Where are we to get the paper for publishing the newspapers and journals to which people have already subscribed?

Of course lumber is not needed in itself, but it has to take an appropriate place in the construction chain. But what kind of chain can there be if construction workers lack dozens of other brand goods, in addition to lumber and merchantable timber? Construction material enterprises, in particular, owed them 49 million notional pieces of slate, more than 2,000 kms of asbestos cement pipes, and more than 13 million square meters of roofing felt.

There is no point in being surprised that the stores lack not only goods that are traditionally in short supply (a phrase that is only possible in our country), but also very ordinary basic essentials. That is the inevitable logic of our economic relations.... which are devoid of elementary logic. Even now statistics show that in the first 10 months of this year production targets for sewing machine needles, safety razor blades, and pencils have only been fulfilled by 91%, 93%, and 90% respectively. It has not even proved possible to meet the match production target—99.2% of the plan!

Realistic analysis of the situation forces us to conclude that it will not be possible to make good the lag behind plan projections before the end of the year. Consequently, all our hopes are pinned on next year. And—we must face the truth—considerable new difficulties and new ordeals await us then.

We know that next year we will have to resolve at least three groups of highly complex and interconnected tasks. First, we will have to make a previously unprecedented leap in the production of goods and services and in the construction of housing and sociocultural and consumer facilities. Second, we must sharply reduce the state budget deficit, reduce unsatisfied demand in the consumer market, and regulate the money supply. Third, we must determine further steps in economic reform, while some elements of the new economic mechanism must be put into operation and worked through.

It is easy to point out that all these groups of tasks are not only interconnected, but are also mutually contradictory to a certain extent. For instance, we could resort once again to very harsh administrative methods to ensure maximum growth in consumer goods and stabilize prices for these goods. But then economic reform would slow down and the way to the market would be longer. For instance, can the state budget be set to rights in a very short period if we cut investments not only in production, but also in the social sphere along with a number of other social measures? But then the first group of questions has to be put off. Or we could implement economic reform at a stroke and form a market by a decree from above. But then we must renounce the principle of social security for Soviet citizens and subject impoverished strata of the population to unforeseeable ordeals....

However, there is already complete clarity on the first and second groups of tasks. The USSR Supreme Soviet has ratified the 1990 plan and budget. The third group of tasks—the concept of the further deepening of economic reform—is to be examined by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

Jan-Sep Rail Performance Discussed

904H0022A Moscow GUDOK in Russian
18 Oct 89 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report on rail performance from materials of the statistical administration of the Ministry of Railways: "Our Rhythm. Results of Branch Operation for nine Months"]

[Text] Many collectives of the branch, working at a tense rate, achieved an increase in the effectiveness and improvement of the quality of their work. This enabled them to cope successfully with the plan for nine months. The overall plan for shipments was overfulfilled by railroad workers of the October, Belorussian, Moscow, Dnepr, East Siberian, Odessa, Southern, Southeastern, Baykal-Amur, and Baltic railroads.

The harvest is being completed in all regions. This is a busy time for the railroad workers. The assignment for shipping grain products has not only been fulfilled but considerably overfulfilled. More than 9 million tons of grain and milling products have been delivered to the consumers and the elevators. The shipments of fruits and vegetables, sugar beets, and other products of the agroindustrial complex are being provided at a high level.

The results could have been considerably better if the normal operation of the transportation conveyor had not been disrupted by strikes and interethnic conflicts in a number of regions of the country, especially during the third quarter. In practice the recent losses have led to an underfulfillment of the assignments for the nine months. On the whole the arrears in the network amounted to almost 22 million tons. Other indicators were also below those established by the plans.

During nine months of this year 3,007,000 tons of cargo have been shipped, which is 0.7% less than the plan. As compared to the same period of last year the overall volume of shipments decreased by 69.6 million tons. The losses were especially large in the third quarter when the 36 million tons were not shipped.

Of the 14 cargoes on the list for the state order the plan was underfulfilled for coal, petroleum and petroleum products, iron and manganese ore, chemical and mineral fertilizers, timber cargoes, and flux. At the same time they provided for above-plan shipments of a number of the most important products for local planning which are necessary for solving the food problem and other socioeconomic problems.

In the third quarter the fulfillment of the plan both as a whole and for the various items on the list deteriorated sharply. Of the overall shortage of shipments of 36 million tons as compared to the plan, 15.3 million tons or 43% were from the state order. The plan was fulfilled for only four of them—coke, paper, mixed feeds, grain, and milling products. For all of these except the last there was a reduction of the volumes of shipments as compared to the third quarter of last year.

The branch sustained large losses because of strikes and social disturbances in the Baltic republics, Moldavia, Azerbaijan, and the Transcaucasus. A large number of trains accumulated on the railroads of these regions and the approaches to them and the working fleet of cars stood idle, being transformed into warehouses on wheels. All this not only brought about interruptions in transportation work, but also lowered the level of cargo work of industrial enterprises of a number of branches of the national economy.

During the nine months the plan for shipments for cargoes included in the state order (total) was fulfilled by 18 railroads. But the quality of the work with cargo on the list left something to be desired.

The level of dispatch routing amounted to 40.9% as compared to the 42.3% achieved during nine months of last year. It decreased for all cargoes with the exception of coke, flux, industrial raw material, chemicals and soda, transshipments from water transportation, and this occurred on the majority of roads of the network, above all the Moscow, Gorkiy, Northern, Donetsk, Transcaucasian, Volga, Southern Ural, Western Siberian, Krasnoyarsk, East Siberian, Transbaykal, and Baykal-Amur within a range of 2% and more.

The unloading of cars was extremely unsatisfactory this year, with the exception of January and February. The volume of dispatches since the beginning of the year decreased by 6,900 cars as compared to the plan and by 4,200 (2.1%) as compared to the corresponding period of last year, while the local dispatches increased by 7,400 cars (1.7%). One of the reasons for the unsatisfactory loading was the poor organization of cargo work during the first half of the day. Its level was 28.1%, which is 2,200 cars less than were unloaded during this same period of last year. The number of cars left unloaded by the recipients is continuing to increase.

During the past period of the year cargo turnover amounted to 2.89 trillion tariff ton-kilometers, which is 55 billion or 1.9% less than the plan. The main cause of this situation lies in the reduction of the volumes of shipments. During January-August the assignment for cargo turnover was fulfilled by 12 railroads.

The greatest arrears were allowed by the Tselina and Sverdlovsk railroads—6% of the assignment; Lvov and Southern Ural—5%; and Kemerovo, East Siberian, and Far Eastern—3%.

The average daily overall movement of cars during the past 9 months was at the level of 98.6% of the norm and 99.7% of the corresponding period of last year. As before, a strained situation with respect to the fulfillment of this indicator has developed on the railroads of the eastern part of the USSR. Not a single one of them fulfilled the norm and on the Transbaykal and Far Eastern railroads the movement did not even reach 90%. Of the railroads of the European part of the country the ones that are in the worst condition are the Azerbaijan—89.9%, and the Transcaucasian—90.5% of the norm. While in August on these railroads the movement of cars was fulfilled at the level of 78-80%, in September on the Transcaucasian it was 47.5% and the Azerbaijan—41.9%. All this also had a negative effect on the North Caucasus railroad where the movement of cars as compared to August decreased by more than 1,000 cars and in September amounted to only 82.6% of the norm. There was a similar situation in September on the Moldavian Railroad where this indicator was 83.5% of the norm. On the whole, just for the four railroads that were mentioned almost 10,000 cars were not moved during September.

In spite of the surplus of transit cargo, the transfer of cargo cars in the network continues to drop by almost 3%.

The movement of empty cars is deteriorating. In September just the railroads that ship coal failed to receive more than 65,000 flat cars, including the Donetsk—25,000, Kemerovo—20,000, and Tselina and Northern—10,000 each. The greatest arrears in the movement of flat cars were found on the following railroads: Moldavian, Lvov, Southwestern, Transcaucasian, Central Asian, Baltic, Belorussian, and Southeastern.

Difficulties in operation work, especially in the third quarter, affected the quality of the utilization of the rolling stock.

The turnover of the cargo car has slowed down since the beginning of the year by 6.7 hours, and 4.6 hours (72%) of this slowdown was caused by the cargo part, which led to increasing operational expenditures by R100 million. The increase in the turnover time was caused mainly by the increase in the amount of idle time at technical stations by 3.7 hours while the number of transit cars decreased by 1.2%. This can be explained to a certain degree by the increased idle time of cars without processing, that is, the large number of abandoned cars.

The amount of idle time during cargo operations and at technical stations increased most significantly (by 7-14%) on the Moldavian, Baltic, North Caucasus, and Volga railroads. The situation deteriorated because of interruptions during the third quarter on the Gorkiy, Donetsk, Azerbaijan, Sverdlovsk, and a number of other railroads.

At the same time the turnover of cars was accelerated on the Alma-Ata, Central Asian, Krasnoyarsk, East Siberian, and Kemerovo railroads. But the normative assignment was not fulfilled by the last two. These railroads increased the productivity of the cars, while in the network as a whole its level decreased by 3%.

The average weight of a train was 3,114 tons. This is 14 tons less than last year. The weight of a train increased as compared to the same period of last year on the Krasnoyarsk, Volga, and Baykal-Amur railroads, which provided for overfulfillment of the normative assignment, as well as on the Kuybyshev, Dnepr, Central Asian, West Kazakhstan, Transbaykal, and Alma-Ata lines.

The statistical load per car as a result of the better utilization of the space and weight capacities increased by 170 kilograms as compared to the assignment and by 150 kilograms as compared to the corresponding period of last year with a 0.4% reduction of the proportion of heavy cargoes in the overall volume dispatched. All railroads except for the Moldavian, Azerbaijan, Transbaykal, and Southwestern fulfilled the plan for statistical loading.

Discipline for fulfillment of the traffic schedule became weaker. The movement of cargo trains according to the schedule and with a reduction of delay amounted to 74.6%, which is somewhat higher than last year's level. The number of passengers transported during June-August decreased by almost 27 million as compared to an analogous period of last year. A certain role here was played by the unfavorable ecological and political situation in a number of regions of the country. All this caused many people to refrain from taking trips.

The passenger turnover assignment has been underfulfilled since the beginning of the year by 5.1 billion passenger-kilometers or 6.2%. During January-August 14 railroads fulfilled the state order. The greatest arrears were allowed in the Caucasus, Northern Caucasus, Moldavian, Baltic, Volga, and Southeastern.

In January-September, rail transportation services were used by 3.350 billion passengers which was 1.4% less than the same period of last year. In July-August the number of passengers decreased by 27 million as compared to an analogous period of last year. A certain role here was played by the unfavorable ecological and political situation in a number of regions of the country. All this caused many people to refuse to take trips.

In August there was a considerable reduction of the volume of passenger transportation on railroads serving the health resort zones of the country: Transcaucasus—25%, North Caucasus—19%, Baltic—13%, and Dnepr and Moldavian—12% each.

There was an average of 31.2 people in each car, including on the Baykal-Amur—only 21, Transcaucasus—23.8, Moldavian—27.9, and Sverdlovsk— 29.1.

The schedule of passenger trains was fulfilled for departures by 96.2%, movement—93.2%, and arrivals—86.2%, which was worse than last year by 1.2%, 0.6 %, and 1.8%, respectively. The movement of the trains on schedule became worse on 19 railroads.

Industrial rail transportation enterprises overfulfilled the two-month plan by 8.4 million tons or 1.6%. The increase as compared to the corresponding period of last year was 21.7 million tons or 4.3%. The plan for shipments was not fulfilled at Novosibirsk, Perm, Volgograd, Vladimir, Groznyy, Turkmen, and Armenian associations.

The assignment for the volume of loading and unloading work was fulfilled by 102.9%. They processed 8.8 million tons of cargo in excess of the plan. The last four of the above associations did not fulfill the plan, nor did the Kaliningrad, Kuybyshev, Sverdlovsk, or Kemerovo railroads.

The plan for profit was fulfilled by all associations with the exception of the Belorussian. On the whole the main administration received R80.5 million in profit, and above-plan profit amounted to R19 million.

The subways fulfilled the nine-month plan for passenger transportation by 100.3%. The assignment for transporting passengers was not fulfilled by the Moscow, Kharkov, and Tashkent subways. On the whole for the main administration the volume of transportation increased by 9.38 million passengers as compared to the corresponding period of last year. The overfulfillment of the plan as compared to last year produced an additional R814,000 in revenue. The savings on operating capital amounted to R5,734,000. The assignment for labor productivity in operations activity was fulfilled by 109.5%.

The operation of industrial enterprises. This year there was a stable tendency toward reduction of industrial production. The volume of output from enterprises of the branch decreased by 0.3% as compared to last year's level, and if products from cooperatives are not included—by almost 1%. This is the first time there has been a reduction of production during the current five-year plan. Delivery discipline continues to deteriorate. As compared to the results of nine months of last year, the number of enterprises not fulfilling the conditions of the agreements increased by a factor of 1.5 and their indebtedness to the consumers increased by a factor of 2.5. According to the agreements that were concluded they failed to deliver R42 million worth of products. Every third enterprise of the branch failed to meet its commitments for deliveries.

Practically half of the plants of the main administration for repair of rolling stock and production of spare parts failed to fulfill their commitments. The indebtedness to the customers as compared to the results of the first half of the year increased up to R17.8 million, of which 7.2 million were from car repair plants, R5.6 million—from locomotive repair, and R4.9 million—from smelting and machine plants.

Contractual commitments were fulfilled on a level lower than the branch average by plants of the Soyuzzheldoravtomatizatsiya Scientific Production Association—by 97.4%. Every third plant, a total of six plants of the association, are in arrears.

Industrial enterprises of the railroads allowed contractual discipline to deteriorate significantly. During January-September the only enterprises to meeting their delivery commitments were those of the Dnepr, South Urals, Krasnoyarsk, and Far Eastern railroads. One-third of the enterprises of the network failed to deliver R18.3 million worth of products, R14.6 million of which were accounted for by plants of the route service. The main reason for the arrears was the reduction of production by almost 16% as compared to last year's level by plants for processing railroad ties with anthracene.

The Remputmash production association improved its work somewhat during the third quarter. But three plants of the association are continuing to lag behind the plan for deliveries by R531,000 (0.8%). Plants of the main administrations of the cargo and locomotive enterprises and worker supply provided for 100-percent fulfillment of their delivery commitments.

Plants of the TsTVR [Main Administration for Repair of Rolling Stock and Production of Spare Parts] over nine months cut the output from capital repair of cargo cars by 4%, steam engines—by 8%, electric locomotives—by 7%, and electric sections—2.5% while the planned assignments were overfulfilled for the last two kinds of rolling stock. The output of passenger cars from capital repair increased by 1.1% but, this was not enough to fulfill the plan for nine months.

The arrears in the repair of cargo cars as compared to the plan increased to 3,000 units. Nine of the 15 plants failed to fulfill the assignment that was set.

As of 1 September rail transportation had failed to receive 92,000 cubic meters of timber for car construction and 8,000 tons of rolled ferrous metals. The deliveries of the basic industrial rubber items for automotive brake and diesel plants and bearings and spare parts for diesels fell below the plan by 20-80%.

In January-September from state centralized capital investments and their own funds the enterprises assimilated R5,155,000,000 (96.6% of the 9-month limit). For construction and installation work they assimilated R2,073,000,000 (98.2% of the planned amount).

A total of R680 million were used for facilities for nonindustrial purposes (with an increase of R90 million). Still the level of assimilation of capital this year was almost 6% lower than last year. Housing construction is lagging behind the plan by more than 6%. On the whole from its own sources of financing the Ministry of Railways has introduced an overall area of 1,121,000 square meters in residential buildings (an increase of 3.4% as compared to last year). Only the Tselina Railroad is close to fulfillment of the annual plan. They have failed to fulfill the assignment for introducing hospitals and poly clinics, children's preschool institutions, general educational schools, clubs, and houses of culture.

They have put into operation 261 kilometers of second tracks (94.4% of the plan), electrified 230 kilometers (102%) of railroad lines, equipped 502 kilometers (91.8%) with automatic block systems, and constructed 225 kilometers (79.8%) of new lines.

The delivery of locomotives is unsatisfactory. As compared to the plan they failed to receive 68 mainline electric locomotives and five steam engines. Industrial enterprises produced 44,200 cargo cars or 96.5% of the number planned. The Dneprodzerzhinsk plants failing to deliver 819 flatcars and 70 bitumen tank cars, the Stakhanov plant—57 ore cars, and the Altay plant—200 covered cars. Of the 1,382 open cars that were not delivered to the railroads by domestic plants 1,207 were to be from Uralvagonzavod, and the Bryansk plant failed to deliver 13 five-car sections. They received 1,516 passenger cars (96% of the plan) and 65,100 units of containers (101.1% of the plan).

As a result of the underfulfillment of the plan for shipments both for general cargo and for a number of especially important kinds, shortcomings in providing for safety of movement and maintenance of technical equipment, and large unproductive expenditures and losses caused during July-September by the strikes and interethnic conflicts in various regions of the country, many railroads and the branch as a whole failed to fulfill their assignments for technical and economic indicators and the utilization of rolling stock.

The cost of shipments increased by 2.7%. They failed to receive R250 million in above-plan profit. Labor productivity is ahead of last year's level by 0.2% and ahead of the planned assignment by 0.8%. According to figures for January-August, the assignment for this indicator is being fulfilled by by 23 mainlines. It is higher than last year's level on 21 railroads.

The average monthly wages of workers employed in shipments increased by R14 or 5%. Here one should note the increase on all railroads with the largest being on the Transcaucasus, Baykal-Amur, and October, and the least on the Donetsk and South Urals.

The shortcomings in the organization of operational work contributed to increasing overtime hours and unproductive idle time in a number of enterprises. There was an almost 2.5-fold increase in violations of working conditions by locomotive brigades, and 83% of the overall increase in the network came from the Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Southern, Sverdlovsk, Southeastern, Baltic, and West Kazakhstan railroads.

The interests of the country's economy insistently demand that in the fourth quarter the railroads sharply increase their rates of shipments. They must do everything possible to improve their work, search out internal reserves, and use them for full satisfaction of the needs of the population and the country's national economy for shipments.

Agricultural

Debt Writeoff Used to Promote Farm Leasing

PM0712165789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1

[Report by V. Mikhaylov: "At the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium: How Debts Are To Be Written Off"]

[Text] On 5 December the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium discussed the problems of improving the financial position of agroindustrial complex enterprises and organizations and also resolved to write off their credit debt. Yesterday USSR Finance Minister V.S. Pavlov held a press conference during which he commented on the decision.

It has been decided to write off R73.5 billion altogether. This is sufficient to enable collective and state farms [kolkhoz, sovkoz], enterprises, and organizations of the agroindustrial complex to rid themselves of the financial burden they have been under.

Now for the means whereby the debts are written off. They will be written off without any prior conditions for farms and enterprises located in the zone subject to harmful fallout from the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station [AES] and also kolkhozes and sovkhozes which have been in the process of being transferred to industry as subsidiary farms since this 1 November. There is no doubt that the agrarian shops of our plants and factories will be able to expand, since many of them had decided for financial reasons not to take on plowland and farms burdened by millions of rubles' worth of uncleared credit.

But what will happen to the rest? The principal innovation in the decisions taken by the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium is that only those already mentioned will be automatically freed from previous financial commitments; the right to this privilege will be enjoyed otherwise only by those farms which go over to a leasing contract. But what if there is only one link or one team operating on a lease? In this case only that part of the debt equivalent to the proportion of the farm that has switched to leasing will be written off. The minister did not seek to hide the fact that the objective and task is to encourage the agroindustrial complex to go over to new forms of economic management as quickly as possible and to destroy more rapidly the mechanism under whose influence the prime cost of agricultural output, with all its concomitant social consequences, has continued to rise in our country. The good thing about leasing is that it acts as a barrier to the wastefulness customary in many quarters, checks the growth of unwarranted expenditure, and forces people to measure expenditure against what they can manage out of their own pocket. The question naturally arises whether the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium decisions will result in the imposition of leasing and a return to the past. Before answering this, let us make clear that this "diktat," if it can be so described, stems nowadays from financial rather than administrative organs. There is a difference here, and a fundamental one: Those who pay will be entitled to know where their money goes and how it is spent. In many developed capitalist countries a dreamer who suddenly takes it into his head to go and live in the bosom of nature will not be given land or credit unless he can produce an agricultural institute diploma; no one can spend money on wild schemes and fanciful projects. So why should our bankers suddenly start throwing away money without being sure that it will be used for the intended purpose? The problem is that we have gobbled up credits, supplements, and even capital investments. Prosperity built on losses was virtually the norm prior to cost-covering. So far as those who are opposed in principle to leasing are concerned, please carry on managing as you wish: You can even set up a commune. But do so with your own money.

There is another and perhaps more difficult problem. It is hardly the first question that comes to mind when you read the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium decisions: How indeed do you determine whether a farm has gone over to leasing, how do you distinguish genuine leasing from pseudoleasing and misrepresentation? We remember how all and sundry triumphantly introduced the collective lease but did so in such a way that it nearly always changed absolutely nothing: The estrangement of working people from the land and the means of production was as a rule not even affected. The minister said that measures combating potential abuses and misrepresentation are being drawn up. A commission comprising representatives of financial organs, banking, and the agroindustrial committee is intended for every rayon. They will have to decide the extent to which lease relations have been developed on a particular farm or in a particular enterprise and whether they will prevent the formation of new debts in the future.

Moscow Oblast Small Farmers Form Union

PM0612101989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Moscow Oblast Peasants Unite"]

[Text] The Moscow Peasant Union (MKS), whose constituent meeting was held in Moscow 1 December, is intended to secure Moscow Oblast rural workers' real rights and protect them from bureaucratic tyranny.

The new social and economic organization will unite Moscow and Moscow Oblast individual and cooperative peasant farms on a strictly voluntary basis. It will represent Moscow Oblast peasants in the Association of Russian Peasant Farms and Cooperatives (AKKOR), whose constituent congress was held in January.

The constituent meeting adopted the statutes of the MKS and submitted proposals for the law on land and land tenure.

Scientific

'Kvant' Module Forms Space Laboratory With 'Mir'

LD0812112789 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] A unique experiment has been carried out in the Soviet Union. The add-on module Kvant has been moved from the central docking port to a lateral one on the Mir orbital station. The module has a mass of 20 tonnes. It is for the first time that such an operation with big spacecraft has been carried out. The chief of the mission, Vladimir Solovyev, has said that this method of assembly in space has a good future.

Modules can be joined together to form space laboratories of any size. They will have everything: Living compartments, workshops, and research labs. Solovyev said that the station's crew, Viktorenko and Serebrov, are faced with a very tight working schedule. They are expected to prepare the module's equipment for research and to test in outer space suits of a new generation and a special device making it possible for cosmonauts to move independently during space walks.